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602 One might well regard such immoderate claims as the response to a
423 breakdown in the social exchange relationship. According to model 17, increased
425 rights over land should mediate an *increased* quasi-filial allegiance, implying an
increased willingness to aid and share with maternal relatives. Such, however,
[245] was rarely in evidence. On the contrary, most coffee-growers, engrossed in the
new task of growing coffee, tended to ease up on their family obligations, gave
[797] fewer feasts and were apt to neglect their maternal relatives. This was especially
so because Church influence reduced the scope of initiation ceremonial which is
[881] one of the traditional key functions of the maternal family. Certainly the
maternal family hardly shares at all, under normal circumstances, in the
increased wealth generated by coffee-growing. Thus the uterine landowner feels
relatively alienated from his affluent nephew.

614 In order to demonstrate the importance of quasi-filial allegiance as a factor in
423 land transactions, I shall cite one case, again from Inonda, where coffee gardens
425 are being run profitably on land over which the grower holds only 'permissive'
rights. The three coffee gardens established in 1955, and still harvested in 1967,
are on land owned by the Endehi'undi clan but relinquished after a defeat in
[435] war. It has been used by Andiriha of Inonda since 1915. When Inonda people
started to grow coffee, Endehi'undi reclaimed this land. Inonda paid $32 in cash,
as well as pigs, traditional valuables and taro, in other words, a very substantial
consideration (Crocombe and Hogbin *ibid.*: 73) After a few years, as Andiriha
continued to benefit from the coffee, it became obvious that Endehi'undi did not
regard this consideration as a *sale* price as Andiriha hoped they would do. They
saw it as no more than a proper display of quasi-filial allegiance, and expected
this sort of gesture to be repeated, or to recover the land.

[736] The Andiriha leader now invited a widower belonging to the Endehi'undi
group to move into his household. The invitation was accepted and in 1967 the
old man was still there. There was no further trouble over the coffee although
Andiriha did not tempt fate by making further plantings. By Orokaiva legal
concepts, the balance was restored. By a shrewd manoeuvre, the Andiriha leader
had found a way to offer increased quasi-filial allegiance in such a way that the
profit from the coffee gardens was not reduced too much.

423 Instances of this kind help us to understand what was involved in the
425 Orokaiva system of residual or dual rights over land and dual allegiance owed by
571 individuals to different families from which land useholds are derived. We have
long tended to believe that the basic co-operating groups in primitive societies
are *corporate* groups. The Orokaiva data presented here show a second
possibility: namely a system by which individuals derive their land, and therefore
their sustenance, from a cluster of corporate groups in only one of which they
are a corporate member, although they maintain permanent exchange relation-
ships with the others. These other corporations do not make them permanent
gifts but leave them conditional upon the successful continuation of the
relationship. The fact that a man holds land on such terms *forces* him to
continue the relationship.

It is impossible, therefore, to say just what constitute 'residual' rights in land. In the example I analysed, it appears that a group's rights include rights to coffee when it lives in another village, but not when a member of that group stays in the house of one of the growers and is fed by that grower's wife. Perhaps the

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121 much the same view of gifts of staple foods as I shall present here. He writes:

> The character of the goods exchanged seems to have an independent effect on the character of exchange. Staple foodstuffs cannot always be handled just like anything else. Food is life-giving, urgent, ordinarily symbolic of hearth and home, if not of mother. (*ibid.* 170)

I am wholly in agreement with this, except that I do not see why we should confine this argument to staple foods. Many other gifts objects have a similar symbolic quality and are 'socially not quite like anything else'. The essential point, however, is that Sahlins clearly recognises that the symbolic quality with which an object is invested helps to determine how it is used as a gift:

> From this several characteristic qualities of food transfers appear to follow. Food dealings are a delicate barometer, a ritual statement as it were, of social relations, and food is thus employed instrumentally as a starting, a sustaining, or a destroying mechanism of sociability. (*ibid.*)

824 The present chapter elaborates these ideas, as applied to taro gifts among the
431 Orokaiva. With the aid of some recorded myths, I shall try to show just how taro
571 is conceptualised, in what precise sense it is symbolic of 'hearth and home', and
121 specifically, in what sense it is symbolic of 'mother'. Secondly, I shall distinguish between two specific ritual statements that can be made with the aid of taro and show that these are indeed concerned with the starting and the sustaining of social relations. I shall show on the basis of mythological and ritual data that the two statements may be viewed as standing in a binary opposition: a masculine gift of raw taro inaugurates relations whereas a feminine gift of cooked taro maintains them.

Taro has a special position in the Orokaiva exchange system in that it symbolises commensality. Persons who exchange taro are either in fact or symbolically commensal. Thus taro exchanges are an almost infallible index of intimacy: once two persons have established a certain degree of intimacy, taro exchanges inevitably follow. The same cannot be said for any other object of mediation, not even pigmeat (which is exchanged only in certain specific circumstances) or coconut and areca (which are given, as a matter of custom, to even very casual acquaintances). I could put this more clearly perhaps by suggesting that the network of intimate associations maintained by any individual Orokaiva coincides with that individual's taro exchange network.

In the second part of the present chapter I shall refer to a somewhat detailed, statistically based, study of taro exchange networks. This study aims at answering the following questions: what role do taro exchanges play in the strengthening of existing intimate bonds based on exchange? What role do they play in widening the range of objects exchanged between partners, i.e. in making an already close social relationship even more intimate?

602 It is obvious that taro exchanges cannot make any essential change in the
431 relationship of members of the same corporate group. By definition, this
824 relationship is already determined by the rules of incorporation. Thus, two brothers do not become more intimate by exchanging taro. On the other hand, if the taro is a feminine object of mediation, it may strengthen the relationship between the wives of two brothers, i.e. between persons whose existing intimate

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bond is based on marriage exchange. Similarly, when married siblings of opposite sex reside in the same village, taro exchanged between their households would tend to strengthen the relationship between a sister and her brother's wife, and between her brother and her husband. Again among the Orokaiva where corporate groups are rather small, the kinship bonds between distant agnates would carry no implication of intimacy. Intimacy could in such cases be maintained only if the kinship bond were strengthened by fairly frequent exchange transactions for which taro would be a most appropriate object of mediation. In all these instances, taro exchanges mediate an extension of intimacy beyond the narrow confines of the corporate group.

So far we have restricted our discussion of exchange to the mediation of dyadic relations between partners. But if the Orokaiva exchange system is to solve the problem of the smallness of corporate groups, dyadic relations alone would clearly be of limited utility. As evidence presented in this chapter will show, the most intimate relationships are mediated by rather frequent gifts of taro, as well as a variety of other kinds of social interaction. There is a limit to the number of such relationships that any individual can maintain. The maintenance of such intimacy between a cluster of three households would require each household to carry on very frequent exchange with two others. While this is manageable, it could not be extended to the whole of a village such as Sivepe, with twenty-two exchanging households. Nobody can maintain twenty-one intimate associations all at the same time.

This kind of problem may be attacked by the setting up of a variety of corporate groupings on a basis other than kinship, and the study of such groupings is one of the main subjects of political anthropology. The Orokaiva, however, do not have corporate groupings of this type (no secret societies, no age sets, no economic institutions whereby 'big men' can achieve clear ascendancy over others). Instead, Orokaiva developed a principle of cohesion which I would call the circuit of mediation. The simplest way in which twenty-two households can be joined in intimate association by a circuit of mediation would be if there were intimacy between households 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, and so on, the chain being closed by an intimate association between households 22 and 1. Households 1 and 3 might not maintain an intimate association, but they would share intimacy with 2 and this would serve to mediate relationships between them. In theory such circuits could be unlimited in length, though the system would be rather cumbersome and expensive if extended too far.

I shall show in this chapter that the Sivepe taro exchange system presents a striking instance of such a circuit of mediation. The demonstration of this point unfortunately requires some painstaking and perhaps unduly tedious statistical analysis, which is to be presented as a separate paper elsewhere; only the basic argument is set out here.

The analysis of taro exchanges provides us with a model of the Orokaiva exchange system. We may not, of course, assume *a priori* that a model applicable to taro exchanges is applicable to anything else. That needs to be established empirically. If the culture is fairly homogeneous and the empirical data are reasonably full, the model ought to be confirmable in other areas such as marriage rules and the political system. If such confirmation is forthcoming, our

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records of taro gifts made in Sivepe village, the number of gifts made and received averaged 2.5 daily, ranging from a minimum of 1.3 averaged by the household least involved in the exchange system, to a maximum of 4.1 averaged by the household that made and received the most frequent gifts during the period. Allowing for variations in size, age and personality characteristics in the various households, these figures present a fairly homogeneous picture of customary exchanges.

Most of the gifts were made within the village, though a small proportion went to relatives and good friends who visited the village or who were visited by members of the Sivepe community. The usual practice was for the woman to bring home with her from the garden not only the taro her household was to eat that night and the next morning, but also taro to be used for giving away. When the recipient was of the same village, the taro would be cooked and presented ready to eat. The presentation was hardly ever made by the husband and most frequently by the children who were sent over with the cooked food and gave it to the named recipient without any ceremony. When there was any ceremony about the gift at all, the housewife was the proper person to make the presentation.

If I inquired who was the donor of the food I was often given the name of the woman, but sometimes the name of her husband, especially if the recipient was one of the husband's close kinsmen. There was always the notion that the gift served to maintain a specific relationship which would be involving either the husband or the wife. Strictly speaking, by far the greater proportion of the gifts were thus made to consanguines rather than affines. But it is better to regard the household as an integrated unit in its relations with other households, as the spouses undoubtedly mostly discuss together to whom food should be given. Essentially, taro gifts mediate relationships between households rather than individuals.

The size of the gifts was constant and seemed to be approximately what one person would eat for a meal. If a household made a gift of several meals to another household, this would be described to me as several gifts, with specification of the names of individual recipients. Here again, there was a contrast between the strict form of the gift and its overall significance. Strictly it was food given by one person in household A to one person in household B. When the family sat down to eat, the person who received the gift taro would share it out to others in the household. Therefore one may say that the gift was, in its general effect, from one household to another, but in strict form, it was emphasised that the social relationship between households A and B was mediated by one person in each household whose relationship was especially close. Thus, I might be told that 'X' sent taro to his brother 'Y'. In fact, X's wife would give the taro to one of her children who would take it probably to Y's wife. Y's wife would give it to Y, saying it came from X. Y would then give everyone a piece of it. A single gift would thus mediate quite a number of bonds.

As the gifts were very frequent, it seems a hopeless enterprise to specify on what occasions they were made; at first I thought taro gifts were made without any reason. Nonetheless, it is useful to discuss briefly a series of instances when taro gifts are considered appropriate. Let us first list a few of the more formal occasions when the housewife herself would make the presentation:

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pig-lending becomes a simulation, on a minor scale, of the customs of marriage exchange, where a reciprocating pair of groups send back and forth a female marriage partner at intervals of one generation.

This assimilation of domesticated pigs to human members of exchanging social groups is emphasised by much customary behaviour towards these pigs. This behaviour goes beyond co-residence in the same house and the use of kinship terms of reference, but extends to strict taboos of wide range prohibiting the eating of domestic pigs by their rearers.

4. *Wild Pigs as Victims*

Williams (1930) describes in detail the techniques that are, or were, used for the hunting of pigs: the use of spears, pig-traps, and the collective burning of *kunai* grass to drive pigs towards their pursuers. I myself witnessed such a burn, in which three villages participated as owners of the burnt-over land (Inonda, Urio, Musou) as well as some hunters from Ajoro. The myths explaining the origin of the various techniques of hunting and of cooking the meat do not enlighten us greatly in the study of exchange, except to confirm a point already made in a previous chapter: the *dema* figure who is remembered as having 'given' a certain technique to mankind, is invariably described in the myth as the first *victim* of that technique. The ritual of killing is a very simple one: it consists in calling out one's clan name before striking the fatal blow. This is supposed to give the hunter the strength (*ivo*) he needs in order to kill. Both killer and victim are thus symbolically identified with a primal ancestor.

The killer of a wild pig is not bound by the same ritual restrictions as the killer of either a man or a domestic pig. Williams states that he found no rule prohibiting a man from eating his personal quarry. Nonetheless, I found that in practice the meat of the wild pig virtually always serves some purpose of exchange-sale, barter or the mediating of social relations. The two wild pigs killed by Inonda men during the hunt to which I have already referred will serve as an example.

Killer A presented his pig to his mother's brother who lives in Ajoro. Killer B presented his quarry to killer A, who is B's brother's wife's brother. A distributed most of the joints to men and women from Inonda (including B), and to two Ajoro men who had returned from the hunt empty-handed, but kept one joint. A's mother's brother kept part of the animal he had been given but distributed the rest of it to his Inonda relatives, including A., as well as several affines. In the end everyone in Inonda had received some meat, but sometimes this meat had gone through several hands. For instance, A's sister did not receive meat from the animal her brother had killed, but from the animal her brother received as a present. Her brother gave several joints to B and it was from one of these joints A's sister was able to eat, because B gave it to his own brother who was A's sister's husband.

After this set of circuitous transactions the fires were lit. I noticed that only some of the meat was boiled but that most of it was smoked for later use. In fact only a fraction of the two slaughtered pigs was eaten that night. The smoked meat was kept for a variety of transactions. In line with the modern trend, these included sale at the market, but there were also traditional prestations, e.g. a gift

The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A

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574 could not help noticing the connection between the reconciliation and the
628 simultaneous fear of sorcery to which I have already referred. But perhaps
721 neither historical explanation is necessary.
728 It seems clear from Williams' evidence and from the little I could reconstruct in 1966 that Orokaiva history had been one long sequence of hostilities and reconciliations. The reasons for the reconciliations were various: the legalising of marriages after abductions, the expediency of forming alliances with old enemies when faced with the threat of new enemies, a desire for peace after some Pyrrhic victories, and so on. On the level of myth we find the same message: the permanent state of *isoro* was interrupted by periodic feasts (see model 1).[4] The series starts, according to myth, with a state of primordial peace. This is followed by *isoro*, *peka*, *isoro* in permanent alternation. We may represent the total pattern by the series of congruent ellipses drawn on parallel planes directly above one another (see Model 27).

I have presented transactions in historical time by a series of four transactions, the first and last of which are purely exchanges of penalties. Cycle 2 represents an agreement between two opponents to cease warfare and make peace (*peka*). This cycle would normally start with a message, sent by the original aggressor, that he is ready to make amends. This message would be followed by a visit from the other party to the aggressor, when the latter would promise to hold a feast. A customary practice at such a meeting was for the aggressor to plant a cordiline (*poponda*) in evidence of this promise. The aggressor would then arrange a pig sacrifice.

Cycle 3 would be marked by peace (*peka*). The victim of the original aggression would give a return feast which was probably obligatory. If the basic end of pig sacrifice were communion or expiation, no return feast would be necessary, but as we have found the basic end to be the establishment or restoration of social relations, on a basis of equality, there must be a balance of prestations. Each side must sacrifice pigs; each side must dance for the other; each side must dispel black magic from the gardens of the other. Each side must expiate past offences and each side must extend forgiveness. But the model shows that such reconciliation is not expected to be more than temporary although, of course, friendship between villages can sometimes be maintained for protracted periods and there is no rule against holding feasts before a quarrel has reached deadly proportions.

571 The model applies not only to inter-village relations but to all social relations
602 in general, consanguineal and affinal relations included. Quarrels between
578 consanguines differ only in their relatively greater reluctance to resort to an
754 exchange of penalties and greater readiness to settle a quarrel before it has gone too far. But here a great deal is said to depend on the type of kin relationship holding between the quarrelling parties. A father or mother will rarely use sorcery or other harmful measures against his or her children. Certainly they will not do so until they have, in the course of the quarrel, broken off social relations by showing their plant emblem. Usually a quarrel does not go beyond the breaking off of relations, but if further unpleasantness should occur and if the person who has caused anger is experiencing some misfortune, sorcery will at once be suspected. The same is true in case of conflict with the father's or the mother's brother, though the showing of the plant emblem does not, in such

A [See Category 574, p. 58—Analyst]

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571 conflict, necessarily precede recourse to sorcery. It is believed, however, that
602 such relatives will not usually carry their resentment too far. As soon as the
518 afflicted person makes his apologies and shows himself ready to make a pig
754 sacrifice, such sorcery will normally case. The same applies to the father's sister, though she has to be watched more carefully than the others, as she is very quick to resent neglect and seek retribution. She will be restrained, however, by the deep love she is expected to bear for her brother, so that she may be expected to agree fairly easily to a settlement. It is thought that mother's sisters are more dangerous as their bonds of family loyalty are much weaker. All these relatives
[431] may cause disease, failure of gardens, bad luck in hunting, etc. All the relationships give rise to the same type of positive and negative reciprocity cycles: if proper prestations are made from time to time, positive reciprocity is maintained, but neglect over a long period will create anger and a negative reciprocity cycle.[5]

In the case of certain close relationships, restraint in acts of negative reciprocity does not arise from any rules limiting the expression of anger, but rather from the existence of other close social relationships which would be threatened if the expression of anger went too far. Thus a mother's brother would be restrained in wreaking revenge upon his nephew by the risk of offending his sister if the revenge were excessive. It is hard to illustrate these principles of exchange with concrete evidence, as I do not know of any actual harm being done between relatives. I know only that misfortunes which I would ascribe to natural causes tend to be explained by sorcery on the part of a neglected relative, and that the neglected relative then asks for or receives a pig or other animal.

571 Prestations between affines have a similar explanation, though the pattern of
578 hostile action and retaliation between affines is somewhat different. The first
602 hostile action in the series tends to be the abduction of a woman for purposes of
583 marriage. This is defined as a hostile act directed against the woman's kin group. The girl's parents look for her and show considerable fury when they find her, wreaking havoc in the village of the abductor. One may say that this is the first cycle of exchange in an affinal relationship and it is totally negative. The abductor's kin group offers a present of ornaments called *sovu hambo*, and promises a bridewealth of acceptable proportions in return for which the bride's parents depart in peace.

It should be noted that, though this second cycle contains an exchange of positive (rather than negative) objects of mediation, the bridegroom's people remain in the position of debtors, while the bride's parents continue to harbour their anger. All they have agreed to is the continued residence of the bride with the bridegroom's people, pending a satisfactory settlement. The third cycle is constituted by the payment of bridewealth, including pig sacrifices, on one side, and the transfer of the usual conjugal rights, including the right to the bride's offspring, by the bride's kin group. On the level of social exchange, however, there is still no exchange in benefits. The relationship remains one between creditor and debtor, as the bridewealth does not wipe out the anger of the bride's parents nor expiate the offence of abduction. This point will be explained further in the chapter on marriage.

It suffices to say at this stage that pig sacrifices made by the bridegroom and

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his family are a necessary part of the process of assuaging the affinal family's anger. However, such one-sided payments do not in themselves set up a social relationship between affines among the Orokaiva. During this whole first phase of the marriage, the strictest affinal taboos are maintained, prohibiting, for instance, commensality between son-in-law and parents-in-law and their close kin. For social relations to begin, it is necessary for the bride's mother to rear a pig for sacrifice to the bridegroom. Unless she does this the son-in-law feels too 'ashamed' of the humiliations he has been through and of the anger shown to him for social relations to be possible. This sacrifice, too, has therefore an element of expiation. After this sacrifice, the taboos are relaxed and the mother-in-law attends a feast at which she *pretends* to eat. Ruth Craig (1969:189), who describes a similar pattern among the Telefolmin of the New Guinea Highlands, comments cogently: 'The second transaction, the return payment, initiates the affinal relationship and emphasises its chief characteristic, friendly reciprocity . . . The relationship starts as one of equality.' It is thus clear that model 27 provides an explanation not only of inter-village feasts and consanguineal relations, but also of the establishment of affinal relationships. On the social plane pig-sacrifice establishes positive reciprocity, while on the magico-religious plane it generates *ivo* for the participants. Reciprocity and *ivo* are thus homologous notions on different levels of conceptualisation.

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1 Durkheim wrote that a sacrifice is composed of two essential elements: an act of communion and an act of oblation (1961: 384). He distinguished sharply between representative or commemorative rites and piacular rites, according to the prevailing mood. The former are performed in a state of confidence and joy, the latter in a state of sadness, arising out of misfortune, evil omens, sorrow or fear (*ibid.* 434–5). Evans-Pritchard (1956:275) made a somewhat similar distinction, though perhaps a less subjective one, between 'communion' (involving a desire to be close to God) and 'piaculum' (involving a desire to keep God away or get rid of him).

The phenomena described in this work, though aberrant from the viewpoint of the Durkeimian and Evans-Pritchard models, are fairly widespread in Melanesia. For instance, Lane, describing pig sacrifices on South Pentecost, points out (1) that sacrificer and sacrificed pig merge and share identity; (2) that the meaning of the offerings is 'clarified by reference to the way in which a special formal friendship is instituted between two men' (1965: 267). The Mae Enga sacrifice pigs to a ghost when that ghost is suspected of causing misfortunes. But half or more of the meat, sometimes all of it, goes to maternal kinsmen as the ghost is always considered to belong to the uterine line (Meggitt 1965*b*: 112–3). Elements of communion and piaculum are both present, but also a need to influence critical social relationships.

2 For a detailed discussion of myths related to the differentiation of species, see Lévi-Strauss 1964.

3 For details on the effect of the Mount Lamington eruption on the Sangara tribe and the founding and development of Hohorita, see Schwimmer 1969.

4 A fuller discussion on Orokaiva leadership will be found in Reay 1953, Schwimmer 1967.

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5 This interpretation of Orokaiva sorcery appears to be largely supported by Lawrence and Meggitt who argue that in societies with 'stable social organisation' (among which they count the Orokaiva), sorcery accusations act 'both as an important medium for expressing enmity and as an excuse for initiating warfare, which is ultimately the most effective means of relieving feelings of aggression' (1965: 17). The authors appear to believe that sorcery can be explained along psychological lines as fulfilling a need for channelling aggression (*ibid.* 18). I find it hard to see how the specific facts of sorcery behaviour (and especially the transactional patterns described in these pages) can be explained in terms of universal needs. Sorcery is only one of many substitutes for physical aggression and all these substitutes, in one way or another, serve to maintain a relationship of negative reciprocity.

Accusations of sorcery probably have a cognitive as well as an effective 'function', for they imply an explanation of misfortunes for which no natural cause is known. Furthermore, such accusations turn misfortune into an object of mediation in (negative) social exchange. The assumption is made that the misfortune will continue until the relationship with the sorcerer is basically changed, either by his defeat or by reconciliation.

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The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *aguna* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full-clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6. Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embahi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

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Rimoldi. I witnessed marriage and mortuary payments where an entire *hae* (including non-consanguines) were present, but where clansmen of different *hae* had no business to be present. 614 824

Orokaiva genealogies hardly ever extended further than two generations beyond the oldest living member of a family. Thus, I was able to draw up a sizeable list of people who lived in Sivepe and other villages around 1915, but could get no genealogical information showing how these people were related to one another. However, informants were able to tell me the *hae* of these ancestors, and these *hae* proved to be the only evidence for statements that A and B 'must have been closely related' or 'cannot have been closely related'. In contrast to the clan and clan segment (which I shall later show to be military and political units – whole or fragmentary), the plant emblem group alone has the nature of a true kinship group. Therefore we should not be surprised that the *hae* occurs prominently in the Orokaiva marriage rules with regard to incest and exogamy.

3. *Williams' Theory of Orokaiva Marriage*

Being a most careful ethnographer, Williams frankly admitted he was unable to understand the Orokaiva rules of exogamy. He quotes three conflicting sets of rules, given to him by informants, and was unable to discern any clear system. According to some informants the clan was the exogamous group. According to others, marriage within the clan was sometimes permissible, but marriage was prohibited between persons sharing a plant emblem. A third rule quoted to Williams was that marriage was prohibited between *du* (i.e. real and classificatory siblings) but permitted and common between cross-cousins. One task of the present essay is to resolve these contradictions. 582 [121]

Williams, furthermore, confessed himself unable to find any positive marriage regulations, i.e. 'any prescribed classes into which a man is obliged to marry' (1930:132). Here he was being too modest: in a subsequent discussion of 'the four forms of marriage' of the Orokaiva, he actually provided the key to the system, though he was unable to carry its analysis as far as he managed to do in some of his later ethnographies, such as those of the Koiari and the *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*. 582 583

The 'four forms' were: purchase, exchange, elopement, and capture. Marriage by capture used to be very frequent and a regular aftermath of cannibal raids. Williams reports that, under this form of marriage, relations between affines often remained hostile – which is not surprising. In many cases the hostile groups later established peace or at least a truce. One feature of such a truce used to be the payment of bridewealth for captured women. The truce was often negotiated at least partly through the influence of the captive. Though Williams has little information on the compensation paid one gathers that the usual pattern of Orokaiva bridewealth payments was followed: pigs, valuables, bark-cloth, pots, taro, etc. My own data confirm that it was not uncommon for ordinary affinal relations to be established once the captors had paid bridewealth. Children of the marriage would then set up the customary relationship with their mother's brother and even receive permanent rights in hunting lands and the like. 583 602 578

Elopement marriage likewise used to be very frequent. Williams reports that it

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583 602 578 led to serious quarrels, especially if the girl had been kept by her parents or brother for an exchange marriage. Usually, these quarrels were settled in due course upon payment of a suitable bridewealth and sometimes by a subsequent marriage for which the abductor's family provided the bride. Williams comments:

> The remarkable gestures of hostility against the husband's people which sometimes characterise Orokaiva marriage, i.e. the attempted dragging away of the bride by her people, the humiliation of the bridegroom, the damaging of his village and the bellicose demonstrations at the taking over of the *dorobu* (= bridewealth), all properly belong to the irregular methods of capture and elopement; they are the aftermath, the retaliation (1930: 149).

583 584 The third and fourth marriage forms distinguished by Williams are purchase (i.e. obtaining a wife in exchange for *dorobu*) and exchange (*mine*, i.e. an arrangement whereby two men each make a true or classificatory sister available to the other). It seems that Williams did not differentiate clearly between modes of obtaining a wife and modes of making a valid marriage contract. One might obtain a wife in a number of ways. Certainly, capture and abduction seem to have been the most frequent at one time, but there were also child betrothals; long-standing preferential arrangements between villages; romances leading to sister exchange and marriages to seal political alliances. There was the whole gamut between choices made by lovers without parental approval and choices (probably relatively less frequent) made by parental fiat. But there were only two ways of making a valid marriage contract, namely *dorobu* and *mine*. Williams himself comes very close to this view towards the end of his chapter on 'Marriage' (1930: Ch. IX). He also maintains, no doubt correctly, that in Orokaiva thought *mine* appears as the 'ideal', i.e. preferential, mode of contracting a marriage:

> It appears that marriage by exchange is preferable to marriage by purchase – at least in the eyes of the marriageable man, and probably also in the eyes of his elders who sympathise with his desires. We may perhaps go so far as to say that the actual buying of a wife only takes place when circumstances make present or future exchange impossible (1930: 149).

This seems to place Williams' theory firmly on the side of Guiart's theory of marriage in New Caledonia: exchange marriage becomes the preferential mode, the 'model', whereas marriage 'by purchase' is demoted to the status of an ecologically caused departure from the 'model'. In this chapter I shall argue that Williams' Orokaiva theory reifies the folk model and conceals some of the complexity of Orokaiva social structure.

4. *Elements of Restricted Exchange*

582 583 Marriage rules related to the principle of restricted exchange are actually more numerous than Williams supposed. They must be briefly reviewed before we can argue cogently that the principle of restricted exchange does not suffice to account for the rules governing the total Orokaiva marriage system. Williams was entirely right in supposing that the Orokaiva have preferential sister exchange

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marriage, even though actual cases recorded in the three village investigated are only 5 per cent of the total for true siblings and the proportion is declining. Sister exchange marriages were considered best because relations between affines were apt to be the most harmonious and also because no bride price was necessary. As any trouble that occurs in family life is apt to be ascribed to sorcery by affines, it was thought that families founded on sister exchange marriage would be the most likely to prosper in respect of health, stability and ecohomic success.

Furthermore, there is an explicit rule of preferential bilateral cross-cousin marriage. All informants were agreed that the most proper marriage partner is one who is addressed as *simbo* before marriage; Williams defines *simbo* as 'child of the father's sister; children of all *tata*; child of the mother's brother; children of all *nobo*, i.e. cross-cousins' (1930: 109). Out of twenty-two married couples resident in Sivepe, fourteen actually called each other *simbo* before marriage. Williams notes that *simbo* marriages were extremely common in the communities he studies (1930:132), but does not seem to have been told of the preferential rule.

The existence of such a rule can be inferred not only from direct statements, but also from investigation off the primary meaning of the term *simbo* itself. The primary meaning is not cross-cousin and we shall later see that the two terms do not entirely share the same field of reference. *Simbo* is an arrangement of marriage. A *simbo* may be established when a boy's parents bring part of a bridewealth to the parents of a girl they want their son to marry. If the arrangement is acceptable, the parents help in the garden of their son's future affines and continue to send food. Such an arrangement is usually made immediately after the rituals following the girl's first menstruation. If the *simbo* is broken, the girl's parents must pay back the gifts. In a secondary sense, the word *simbo* also refers to that category of consanguines with which betrothals of the kind just described can be properly made. All members of that category are either cross-cousins in the strict sense, or consanguines with whom kinship can be traced neither wholly in the patriline, nor wholly in the matriline.

There are also rules establishing preferential marriage between specific villages. Though Williams did not notice the presence of this rule among the Orokaiva, he described a very similar rule obtaining among the Koiari, where he spoke of 'reciprocating pairs of groups' (1932). Under this arrangement, two local clan groups or exogamous lineages give wives to each other from generation to generation, each side supplying as near as possible an equal number. A group that has received a wife is expected to send one back in the same or the next generation. If the return prestation occurs in the same generation one may speak of sister exchange; if it occurs in the next generation, the rule is expressed by the Orokaiva as *eta dara fimbari*, i.e. marrying in the mother's village.

This rule applies especially to girls who are expecting to go to the village from which their mother has been taken, thus balancing accounts between reciprocating pairs of groups. Such a rule cannot properly be described as a prescription for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, as there is at the same time a preference for sister exchange, so that the total pattern of marriages between reciprocating pairs of groups is ideally (and in fact commonly) bilateral. I found that 35 per cent of Orokaiva marriages now in force were contracted in accordance with the rule of *eta dara fimbari*, for a period not less than two generations.

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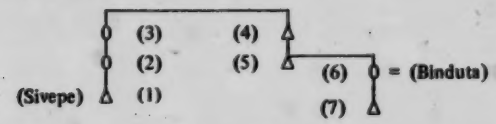
601 Within the village, two different principles prevail according to the presence or absence of a generation difference. Where a generation difference exists, opposite sex linkages are always expressed in terms of address. A mother's brother is always called *epe*. The *epe/ahije* bond is based on mutual affection and voluntary support, whereas the *mama/meni* bond is based on strong mutual obligations and an authority/obedience relationship. On the other hand, collaterals of the same local clan group will never call each other *simbo* even though biologically they may be cross-cousins. They use sibling terms and are strictly bound by exogamy rules. In a multi-clan village, collaterals of different clans will sometimes use sibling, sometimes cross-cousin terminology. Here the criterion is whether the persons concerned shared a plant emblem (*hae*).

582 A rule that was expressed to me often and forcibly was that people should 614 not marry if they share a paternal or maternal *hae*. The relationship of a person 824 with his *hae* is one of complete identification. If a man says that his *hae* is *sasaha* grass, he means that *sasaha* grass is his 'ancestor' and that he himself *is sasaha* grass; i.e. he is completely identified with it. If two people are identified with the same plant in this way they are siblings; they cannot possibly be anything else.

601 In general therefore a *simbo* is someone with whom one does not share a *hae*. ●602 This rule obtains whether or not *ego* and *alter* live in the same village. A study of actual kin relationships between *simbo* in different villages bore this out. A typical *simbo* relationship would be between *fafasiso* children/*famobrososo*. The *fafasi's hae* would be transmitted to her son, but not to her son's children. The latter would therefore share no *hae* with the grandmother's natal family. Some *simbo* relationships are far more distant than the one quoted here. A typical example is the following:



Here the *simbo* relationship links families of two villages, Sivepe and Binduta. The genealogical pattern may be accounted for by extremely strong attachment between siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and for the tendency for this strong attachment to be reproduced in the next generation. The genealogical connection between *simbo* often passes between two or more of these *du* linkages. A person thus tends to have numerous *simbo* scattered in many villages with some of which has own village may never have intermarried. Even a limited amount of intermarriage between villages may set up a good number of *simbo* links between them, as the links of filiation and siblingship to which the genealogies refer are often merely classificatory. For instance, the individuals numbered (3) and (4) in the above diagram were not true but classificatory siblings.

It will be noticed that the *simbo* category can be defined only by a series of negative rules. It is a set of distant kinsmen which remains when positively

defined sets of consanguines have been excluded. Marriage with the *simbo* cannot therefore be regarded as following the principles of an 'elementary' system of kinship. In practice it does not take many generations before the intermarrying groups forming a 'reciprocating pair' are married out, i.e. unable to supply any further partners to each other. In Sivepe, Jegase and Seho, even with only seven current intermarriages out of sixteen households and a reciprocating relationship of less than three generations, seemed to have nearly exhausted all marital possibilities. The difficulties of my interpreter, a bachelor belonging to the Jegase clan, will serve as an example. He was not allowed to marry the girl he loved (Seho clan) because she was a classificatory mother's sister's daughter. But there would have been equally grave obstacles if he had wished to marry into four of the remaining six Seho households, as the girls of these households shared either his father's or his mother's *hae*. The rule prohibiting marriage with a person sharing a paternal or maternal *hae* has an interesting randomising effect that should be briefly discussed. At least forty-two *hae* were used in Sivepe. The persons sharing these *hae* were by no means always close relatives. They might be wives of Sivepe men, and born in a quite different village. Again, some people had many *hae*, four or five was quite common. In these circumstances the Orokaiva rule could never produce a stable system of four or more sections, as any section might at any time adopt a *hae* which would prevent marriage with another section. Furthermore, any portentous event, such as a woman falling to her death from a certain species of tree, would lead to the introduction of a new *hae* which might be adopted by several persons for reasons of sentiment or religious awe rather than the regulation of future marriages. Finally, individuals not infrequently transmitted maternal *hae* to their children, especially if they resided matrilocally or uxorilocally.

We conclude therefore that the rule of marriage with the *simbo* resembles a game of chance in which the odds become progressively more unfavourable, though the rate at which they become worse is itself determined by chance. In practice, therefore, every village played at many tables at once, not only because of ecological circumstances, vicissitudes of war and the need for alliances, but also because the rules of marriage themselves make no other strategy possible.

7. *Sex Affiliation*

It is an understood principle that under a system of restricted exchange the matrimonial destiny of brother and sister lies in the same kinship group whereas under generalised exchange it is different. Williams' data on the Koiari, as analysed by Lévi-Strauss, show that this tribe strongly emphasises difference of matrimonial destiny by the device of giving the brother a paternal and the sister a maternal clan name. Among the Orokaiva the principle of sex affiliation is likewise utilised, though far more feebly, to convey a simple message. The firmest evidence is found in kinship terminology and in the theory of paternity.

For the purpose of componential analysis of terms used in addressing affines, one dimension of contrast must be added to those given in the previous section. We shall distinguish sister exchange and *dorobu* marriages by the following code:

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601 *Min*: Sister exchange marriage. *Dor*: Marriage 'by purchase'. Under this code, we may define the following terms:

1. *Terms principally used for addressing consanguines*:

epe:	Ef	M	Sr	Gl	A
	M	Sr	Gl	A	Min
tata:	Ef	F	Sr	Gl	A
	F	Sr	Gl	A	Min
ahije:	F	Jr	Gl	A	
	Jr	Gl	A	Min	

2. *Exclusively affinal terms*

atovo:	Em	M	Sr	Gl	//	A	Dor	
imbohi:	Em	F	Sr	Gl	A	Dor		(Williams: *imboti*)
behere:	Em	SS	Gl	X	A	Dor		(Williams: *betere*)
dambo:	Em	SS	G–O	//	A			(Williams: *nabori*)
	Em	SS	G–O	X	A			(Williams: *betere*)
hovatu:	OS	G–O	A					
bi:	Ef	SS	G–O	A				
imi:	M	Jr	Gl	A	Dor			

601 The fact that a brother and sister, upon marriage, use different types of
602 affinal kinship terms corresponds to a fundamental difference in their social position in relation to their affinal family. The brother, under a *dorobu* marriage contract, remains a perpetual debtor to his affines. He has deprived them of their most precious possession, a nubile daughter, without giving a woman in exchange. Even though he has given bridewealth and done bride service, and continued making prestations of many kinds, these propitiatory offerings do not wipe out the debt. The *imi* must therefore always act with humility and feel shame when he meets his *atovo* and even more, his *imbohi*. His sister, however, is under no such burden in her relations with her own affines. Her position is precisely the same, whether the marriage has been established by *mine* or *dorobu*. Her use of consanguineal terminology expresses her far greater familiarity and identification.

[591] It might be argued that such familiarity and identification is the direct consequence of patrilocal virilocal residence, but such residence arrangements do not always lead to the terminological differences I have described. These differences, however, are consistent with an ideology which emphasises the detachment of women from their natal clans and their close attachment to their mother's village to which they are supposed to move upon marriage.

842 Such an ideology is further emphasised by the Orokaiva notions about
614 paternity. Orokaiva believe that a male child is formed in the womb as the result of sexual congress between father and mother, but that a female child is formed by 'the mother sleeping alone'. The male child therefore carries the 'blood' of the father, enabling the child to carry on the father's lineage, but the female child does not. She is still a member of the paternal clan but the connection is evidently viewed as social rather than physiological. Accordingly all females are named by their mother's consanguines, in contrast to males who may be named

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killed and eaten and is remembered as the demigod who made these gifts to mankind. When such gifts are made today it would seem that the donor is symbolically sacrificing himself to the recipients. The custom of giving clothes and cooking pots goes back to a myth where a woman is described as living alone and naked and without fire, so that she had to prepare her food by letting the sun burn it. Two men came, gave her a skirt, brought her fire and thus acted as her deliverers. These gifts, far from being 'equivalent' to a woman, are male gifts *for* a woman, and emphasise the blessings of the cultural institution of marriage. On the significance of ornaments as part of a wedding gift I am less certain, but the evidence suggests that they are pledges. They are objects of great magical power, the mere possession of which is thought to demonstrate that their owner adheres to moral principles. The gift of such objects to another party demonstrates that the donor possesses such moral objects, pledges that he will show propriety in his behaviour towards the recipient and enjoins the recipient to do the same for him.

In combination, the *dorobu* gifts convey a clear and appropriate message: the wife-taker acknowledges his indebtedness, emphasises that by taking a woman in marriage he conveys a great blessing upon her and makes pledges which ideally are binding on both parties. Acceptance of these gifts need imply no more than that the wife-givers acquiesce in the *status quo* (which has been established by abduction or elopement). Until the affines make counter gifts, *dorobu* does not even establish social relations between the two sides. This does not happen until the bridegroom's sister has bred and given a pig to him and until the bride's mother has bred and given a pig to her son-in-law. It is only then that a limited commensality between the two sides is established: they have a meal together at which the *imbohi* pretends to eat.

The continuing avoidances and dangers characteristic of Orokaiva affinal relations are all of a kind very familiar in other parts of the world, but the less usual feature is that joking relations, coldness and deliberate social distance can be terminated by the cancellation of the debt through exchange marriage. The strife of 'ordinary' affinal relations is seen as part of a longer cycle which stretches from the sister exchange marriage established as ideal by the ancestors to exchange marriages that remain present as a constant possibility.

9. *Application of the Model to Clan Formation*

The model of marriage exchange as presented here envisages the permanent cyclical recurrence, in the history of any given social group, of restricted and generalised exchange, or – as one might say – of a state of matrimonial amity and strife, unity and division. This model is given additional credibility if we consider some Orokaiva theories about social relations and if we consider the processes of clan formation.

On social philosophy only a very brief reference is appropriate here. The Orokaiva believe that due to actions of their primal ancestors, men are in permanent strife with one another and for that reason dwell apart in separate villages. They express this belief quite explicitly when explaining some of their own myths. I have described above (Chapter III) an Orokaiva myth on the origin

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582 reciprocal relationships which must collapse, due to the operation of the rules,
614 after a few generations. This collapse may either take the form of a separation
583 between the two groups or of a fusion into one local clan group. I have shown that the genesis of many Orokaiva local clan groups may be found in this process.

602 In the terms used in previous chapters one may categorise sister exchange and
583 the women exchanges in reciprocating pairs of groups as phases of cycles of
614 positive reciprocity. On the other hand, marriage by capture and elopement is a phase of a cycle of negative reciprocity. The long series of prestations offered by the bridegroom and the humiliations suffered by him have the effect of shifting the social relationship with the affinal group into a cycle of positive reciprocity. We therefore do not need to suppose that the bride is regarded as symbolically equivalent to *dorobu* as some African analogies might suggest. *Dorobu* is sufficiently explained as a magical device whereby a reversal in the mode of reciprocity (from negative to positive) is effected. The full range of gifts symbolises the wide scope of the resulting social relationship.

The theory assumes a profound dependence upon the affinal group. This dependence is in fact emphasised in many social, economic, political and religious situations. Ideally, an affinal relationship leads to the establishment of a pair of reciprocating groups. In the light of this understanding, it becomes clear that the exchanges analysed in the preceding chapters are consequences of the group relations set up by the marriage system. In chapter V, I showed the prevalence of a principle of dual allegiance resulting from the inheritance of land originally belonging to the mother's brother. I showed that a critical situation arises in the third generation when the uterine family does not renounce its residual rights but the social relations which give reality to these residual rights, viz. dual allegiance, becomes problematical.

583 The system would appear, indeed, to be so automatically productive of crises
614 that one might wonder how it could ever have been maintained. It becomes much easier to understand if we recognise that the daughter of the marriage is expected to marry in the mother's brother's village. The land can thus revert to the people of the original village by a series of two uterine transfers. The system looks a little like the 'rope' of the Mundugumor (Mead 1935), and the latter may well have a similar explanation. It has a clear political utility as the dual allegiance pattern forms the basis of Orokaiva political alliances. It is buttressed by religious beliefs, as the spirit of a male child may be derived from either an agnatic or a uterine ancestor, by the process of reincarnation to which I have already referred.

Ultimately there would appear to be two possible outcomes of such hereditary land gifts: fusion of the reciprocating pairs of groups into one local clan group and separation on more or less hostile terms. These two outcomes correspond to the two modalities of the marriage system. The hostile modality is not a *failure* of the system but a natural and accepted part of it. Thus, the frequent migration of groups, as evidenced in Sivepe and many parts of New Guinea, should not be regarded as purely adventitious, but is structurally determined as part of a system which, as we have seen, could not work over a long period with a static population.[4]

The frequent exchanges of cooked taro reported in Chapter VI tend to keep

614 Although it is said that members of these clans were allies in the past and today their local branches in the one neighbourhood intermarry, their relationsip to one another in regard to land is not directly determined by the recognition of the historical tie between them.[1] Plant (1951: Appendix 2) suggests that another informal link exists between clans whose founders are said to have been allies or associates.

The typical dispersed clan among the mountain Orokaiva now appears to be only a social category. Its members still acknowledge common descent from a single ancestor and have inherited the same name, but this gives them no special access to each others' land. Men have only a superficial acquaintance with the land of other branches of their clan. Nor does the clan seem to function as a group in any other sphere of activity.[2]

178 614 [574] [602] In the past the scattering of clan fragments in distant villages probably served an important function in facilitating travel, but clanship has been almost wholly replaced in this capacity because a traveller now can usually receive hospitality from various kinsmen, often closely related, who are widely dispersed, for one or another reason associated with social and economic change in the area.

614 [73] [62] We have no details concerning either the present number and size of clans among the mountain Orokaiva or the extent of their fragmentation. There is no doubt that the growth of more nucleated villages since the 1951 eruption of Mt. Lamington (see Secs b. and e. of this chapter) is a significant uncontrolled variable in any inference from a situation preceding the eruption. Nevertheless, we think that a reasonable indication of the present pattern of

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[1] Plant (1951:3 and Appendix 2), however, is in complete agreement with Williams (1928:126 ff.) and says that 'ownership of land is vested in the clan'; although this ownership is nominal and in practice each branch of the clan regards the land it uses as its own, people from one village agree that their clansmen elsewhere have 'every right to come and settle at their village and that land would be made available to them' and similar rights would be conceded by members of a 'parent clan' to one of its branches which has assumed a new clan name.

[2] Further information now being collected at Sivepe by the New Guinea Research Unit will show whether or not this statement holds for economic activities in general; cf. these clans with the Star Mountains patriclan (J. Pouwer in Watson, ed., 1964:136) which can 'best be characterized as a name group, since the clan name passes from father to son', and 'is neither exogamous nor corporate with respect to political, social, religious or legal matters'.

current village of the other or from a village within a mile of it, in 11 cases from within a radius of approximately 3 miles of it (in fact an area only slightly larger than the 'neighbourhood'), while 2 spouses came from outside the tribe. Williams (1930:131-3) speaks of 'a certain degree of local endogamy'. The Aiga village '(in which there may be several clans)...cannot be called exogamous even in theory'.

Belshaw too (1951:15) pointed out that marriage is usually between people whose parents do not live far apart. For this reason he warned that amalgamation of nearby 'hamlets' after the eruption might increase tension between groups linked by marriage. But relationships between affines in Sivepe appeared to be generally close and behaviour relatively informal and friendly when compared with other areas (e.g., Inonda).

Perhaps there is a similar contrast with former practice (see Williams, ibid:106, 114, 128, 131). However, in 1924 in a third area (the Ope or Aiga), the village, consisting as it might of intermarrying clans, was quite free from 'quarrels and ill-feeling' (Williams, ibid:315) and, moreover, it is 'not unusual' for a man to divide his time quite comfortably 'between the villages of his wife's people and his own' with the result that 'the relation between the father's people and the mother's people is, in practice, so friendly and intimate, that the child associates himself almost as readily with the latter as with the former' - 'so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family' (1925:407-8, 410).

Individuals freely and frequently change their village of residence, whereas the villages are enduring units. During the years 1957-61 the population of Sivepe and Minduta together averaged 165: there were in the same time no less than 113 movements of individuals into or out of this couple of villages and, according to data collected by ourselves, at least 13 between the 2 villages. The government census statistics reveal neither the cause, exact destination nor frequency of movement by an individual nor are his age or marital status recorded.[1]

(ii) Formal features of the local patrilineal groups. In discussing the local disposition of clans, we have already taken 'clan branch' to denote the representatives of the clan living in one village. We retain the term not only for the Timuma group but also for the members of the 4 Jegase lineages living at Sivepe, even though these villagers do not constitute a group of co-resident agnates with functions to mark it as a distinctive unit within the

[1] Thus the figures do not differentiate between adults and children (see McArthur 1956:324-36).

614 is the claim, however well founded, that this was part of the local ancestral land of men of their own clan.

The affirmation of the common territorial interest of the group of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood would occur only when we were proceeding with a series of enquiries both into the boundaries of the scattered parcels held by smaller groups or by individuals and into the source of their rights. This suggested that, in view of the frequency of individual transfer of parcels of land among non-agnates, the explicit assertion of the unity of the enduring group and its territory may be an ex post facto argument. This is both an affirmation of common grounds for legitimate land claims of individuals and lineages, irrespective of the actual origin of their rights, and also the most decisive means of differentiating clearly one parcel of land from adjacent holdings of members of other clans.

The appearance of a patrilineal ideology in this context might be expected of members of a loose-knit descent group with a territory interspersed with territories of other members of the local community in which an elaborate network of non-agnatic and affinal ties plays an important part in each individual's life. 571 It is by virtue of such interpersonal ties, hardly less than by 602 shared membership of a local patrilineal group, that close face-to-face contacts and bonds of friendship are maintained, mutual [425] assistance is offered, temporary rights to land are exchanged and, by these means, claims to inherit land are established in many [428] circumstances.

d. Patterns of landholdings

614 There are 60 blocks altogether which are either wholly or partly made up by one or more of the parcels held by the sample (138 acres in all). In general each block is held by members of a single clan branch but 3 are divided so men of each of the 2 sample groups hold sections. In other instances members of different clans and of other villages hold a contiguous section [613] of the named area but these were not measured. Eleven blocks were subdivided between 2 lineages of the same clan and just on half the total number of blocks contain internal boundaries between different householders in the lineage. No 2 householders are regularly associated with one another in the holding of rights in [613] the subdivided blocks.[1] The distribution of these and other parcels of the lineage land among its members is almost random.

[1] In one instance 2 men (who are brothers) held adjacent sections of several blocks but these sections represent only a small proportion (by area or number of parcels) of the landholdings of either man.

241 With the passage of the cultivation cycle over a Chimbu sub-
171 clan's territory, gardeners move from one men's house to another,
361 either as a persisting group of agnates working contiguous hold-
ings, or as individuals joining more transient groups which are
dissolved as gardens near the house revert to fallow (ibid:98;
Brown and Brookfield 1959:68). As they extended their cultivation
to other areas, 37 per cent of a sample of 193 men had moved from
one men's house to another over a period of 16 months (Brookfield
and Brown 1963:98) and the men's houses themselves last no longer
than 5 years (ibid:12).

241 In Sivepe on the other hand, gardens tend to be scattered and
isolated. Father and son often have adjacent plots in one garden
area but the son usually has at least 1 other garden elsewhere.
A young married man often has 1 garden on the land of his wife's
father, whom he will periodically assist in his garden. Older
men in general adopt the technique of progressively planting and
clearing a single large area while younger and more active men,
usually with more obligations to affines, tend to cultivate
several scattered smaller plots.

[62] There is no local group or extended kinship group which
commonly combines to make a block of contiguous gardens. Even
[602] when all members of the village plant simultaneously for a special
feast, the gardens are not adjacent. A man usually takes advan-
tage of the choice of exercising planting rights on the land of a
wide range of kinsmen (not necessarily his agnates), both those
within the village and to a lesser extent kinsmen from other
villages. Several had current gardens on their mother's brother's
land, some on the nearby land of their wife's brother, sister's
husband or daughter's husband.

613 In other Orokaiva areas (such as Inonda) gardeners of one
614 lineage often have a reciprocal arrangement with another lineage
184 of the same clan in the village to cultivate a parcel of their
land with them, but this is not a common practice at Sivepe. In
the few cases where several kinsmen have made adjacent gardens
the gardeners are mostly cognatic kin from different clans or
villages and each will probably make his next garden with differ-
ent kin or on an isolated parcel.

166 Encroachment on boundaries is feared[1] but does not seem to
171 result in repeated changes of residence as it does among the
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[578] [1] The 3 instances of boundary disputes recorded were between
Bebehupa and Usohu people. According to the older men the Usohu
were formerly a Jegase group and they share many boundaries with
the Bebehupa; the recent split in Binduta between the 2 groups has
been accompanied by friction over a number of issues including the
definition of boundaries.

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Table 10:17

Givese: the major exchange relationships of selected individuals with their kin
(where the quantity exchanged exceeds 5 per cent of the total exchanged in at least one category)

Individual	Partner*		Transactions: Subsistence produce A	Subsistence produce D	Labour-subsistence sector A	Labour-subsistence sector D	Labour-cash sector A	Labour-cash sector D	Storebought goods A	Storebought goods D	Cash A	Cash D
I Linton			(lbs)		(hrs)		(hrs)		($)		($)	
Totals			1,910.6	840.3	234.0	79.0	67.8	10.3	11.51	3.92	23.85	17.00
	(a) Other households within the lineage within the village											
		Z	32.0	3.2	40.4	-	30.8	-	0.15	0.12	0.35	-
		F	-	33.0	2.7	-	16.6	-	-	-	-	-
		M	93.5	3.2	-	5.1	13.3	-	-	-	-	-
		D	23.0	8.5	35.1	-	-	-	0.05	-	-	-
	(b) Other households within the clan within the village											
	(c) Other households from other clans within the village											
		ZH	2.0	1.2	69.8	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
		MB	78.0	9.3	14.6	37.1	-	-	0.20	-	-	-
		WB	159.3	198.5	-	-	-	8.0	2.90	2.80	16.0	16.0
	Classificatory	MB	24.4	4.5	-	-	-	-	0.20	0.50	-	-
	"	MB	1.0	13.7	23.7	-	1.3	-	0.20	-	-	-
	"	FWB	-	73.1	7.8	6.7	-	2.3	0.10	0.50	-	-
	H of "	MBD	61.7	17.8	9.4	-	2.3	-	-	-	0.20	-
	(d) Other households outside the village											
		FFBS	3.0	55.2	3.2	18.8	-	-	3.03	-	4.30	-
	H of classificatory	FZ	435.0	-	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

437 produce, while the second results in sustained interaction with affines at the probable expense of agnates living elsewhere. The latent obligations to more distant kin are revealed on such occasions as an unexpected visit Palminus received from his father's [431] sister's son following the birth of Palminus' child. His embarrassment at not having previously advised the man of the birth was only compensated by his making an immediate gift of $2.

The facility with which kinship links can be drawn between most, if not all, of the villagers makes it difficult to identify significant, yet mutually exclusive, categories of exchange partners. Exchanges between two individuals might, for example, be variously interpreted as being between neighbours, affines or age-mates. The most important economic connection is between an individual's families of orientation and of procreation, where the two households are located adjacent to each other. Although each maintains separate gardens, between such linked households there is a substantial, if variable, degree of inter-dependence and the network of exchanges may incorporate three generations.

437 Other major exchange relationships operate with affines, matri-
561 lateral and patrilateral kin and are typically restricted to members
of the individual's age group, for example, cross-cousin, wife's
[602] brother and sister's husband. Such coeval links also extend to individuals with whom there is no apparent bond of kinship. Traditionally these links may have been restricted to fellow-initiates, who were of both sexes and stood in a defined relationship where [178] each referred to the others as nanamei.[1] Since the disappearance of initiation ceremonies the connection is now of a more informal nature, reflecting similarity of interests.

437 In effect, regular exchanges operate between members of one's
602 own generation, where partners may be drawn from a wide range of kinship categories and with other generations in the case of primary and secondary kin (see Table 10:18). Other large exchanges which fall outside this pattern are mostly of a specific nature and characterised by immediate reciprocation, as in the case of pigs and sago-making. There is only limited evidence to suggest that the movement of specific goods and services follows distinct patterns, although those relating to the external sector do move almost exclusively between primary kin. However, this fact cannot be considered to indicate a different attitude to the ideal of reciprocation on the part of those having direct access to cash crops and money. Where an individual's family of orientation renders assistance with processing coffee, it is normally without cash crops of its own and where remittances are received from sons,

[601] [1] Meaning 'my children', i.e. 'the children of whom I am one'. See Williams 1930:180.

Table 10:18

Diverse: the network of exchanges among kin
(derived from the data presented in Table 10:17)

		Total		Major exchanges*								
				By category								
				Linked households, other primary kin and dependent households			MBS/D, FZS/D, WB, ZH (incl. classificatory)			All other		
		Quantity	% of all exchanges	Quantity	%	No. of partners	Quantity	%	No. of partners	Quantity	%	No. of partners
Subsistence produce (lbs)	A	2,779.0	85	1,123.4	40	22	480.0	17	8	1,175.6	42	25
	D	2,270.0	60	1,172.2	52	21	291.7	13	7	806.1	36	31
Labour subsistence (hrs)	A	359.5	90	243.3	43	12	76.4	14	2	239.8	43	17
	D	151.8	88	95.2	63	5	17.0	11	2	39.6	26	5
Labour cash (hrs)	A	74.9	91	60.7	81	3	2.0	3	1	12.2	16	6
	D	16.3	83	6.0	37	1	8.0	49	1	2.3	14	1
Storebought goods ($)	A	17.05	76	3.46	20	11	2.92	17	2	10.67	63	11
	D	5.31	75	0.91	17	7	2.80	53	1	1.60	30	3
Cash ($)	A	28.85	80	2.35	10	2	16.00	67	1	5.50	23	3
	D	16.00	84	-	-	-	16.00	100	1	-	-	-

* Defined as where the quantity exchanged exceeds 5 per cent of the total in at least one category.

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brothers and husbands their dependents are normally being supported in the village.[1] Consequently, of the three categories of kin into which exchanges are grouped in Table 10:18, exchanges with the first (linked households, etc.) may be interpreted as expressing their degree of inter-dependence, with the second (cross-cousins, etc.) the intention of supporting alliances with members of other corporate groups, while only the third (all other) might be considered as a 'drain on resources' (in the sense of the goods and services not being reinvested for individual or group benefit). Nevertheless, most exchanges characterised by immediate reciprocation and equivalence fall in the last category and so, even in that case, the assumption is of questionable validity.

[1] Of the $166.30 received in the form of remittances, about two-thirds came from primary kin while about three-quarters came from individuals with dependents being supported in the village.

When the Japanese landed at Gona Mission in July 1942, all the Yega - men, women and children - fled into the bush and made their way to Ambasi, 30 miles to the north-west. There they lived for the next two years, returning to the Gona area in 1944. By 1950 they had settled down again on their seven traditional village sites along the coast between Cape Killerton and the eastern end of Holnicote Bay. One new village was established at Surilai on Cape Killerton.

Clan membership determined the village of residence of each family in the Yega tribe. In some instances, place of residence was determined by membership of a particular sub-clan. Of the eight Yega villages, four were inhabited by male members of more than one clan. The remaining four villages were each occupied by members of only one clan and their wives and children.

After an abortive attempt at communal farming in 1947-52, the large village of Beporo was brought into existence under the direction and guidance of two educated young men who taught that a large village close to the mission church, school and hospital was the 'civilized' form of settlement. Some three quarters of the Yega people, apart from those in wage-work away from home, moved to Beporo village which was expanded to accommodate them. Although a broad pattern of clan residence could still be recognized in Beporo, the clans themselves began to lose their functional identity within the tribe. There was a weakening of traditional kinship patterns of co-operation in everyday activities.

Although their earlier communal farming venture had failed, the Yega were still very much attracted to the idea of making money from cash crops. Accordingly, with the advice of the District Agricultural Officer (D.A.O.), they cleared 15 blocks during 1957-8 and planted them with coffee trees. These blocks ranged from a quarter of an acre to two acres in area; one was planted by a group of six relatives, the remainder by individuals of various clans.

For the most part these coffee blocks were cleared in areas of secondary forest which normally formed part of the land rotation cycle for food crop production. Although they were located at distances of up to four miles from the blockholders' villages, only one man changed his place of residence as a direct result of establishing a coffee block. This man moved to Gatara, two and a half miles inland from his previous home and established a single-family homestead, a settlement quite out of keeping with traditional Yega practice. The coffee scheme failed, partly on account of low prices received for early pickings, and partly because in 1960 a much more ambitious cocoa-planting scheme, the so-called Yega Scheme, was begun. It absorbed most of the energies of the Yega during the following two or three years.

245 423 All plantings were made on the south side of Ononda Creek in the area which the Yega claimed because it was their Bowori (extinct) clan land but which the Ahora also claimed by right of conquest. The Yega decided to reinforce their claim by occupying at least a portion of the disputed territory (Fig.7).

241 245 423 (614) (613) A large area of rain forest was cleared for food gardens in addition to the cocoa blocks planted. Permission to clear was in all instances given by the land controller, Nixon Kairembora. Swiddens were cleared by members of Sambori (1), Jambapa (5), Konambo (1), Eupu (1) and Seseko (3) clans. Cultivation rights to the land on which these swiddens were made would then be vested in the lineages to which the individual gardeners belonged.

166 361 245 241 One instance of change of residence as a result of these new clearings was noted. Three Jambapa brothers built their homes on Jamberoda grassland near which they had cleared a swidden and planted food crops and cocoa (about half a mile south of Ononda village and well into disputed Yega/Ahora territory). These houses were the furthest extension of the ribbon pattern of settlement developing along the Gona-Popondetta road; this hamlet typified the Yega trend away from large nucleated settlement to a farmstead pattern in which homes were dispersed on or near the main garden and cash crop areas.

245 423 In March 1964 a group of 23 Yega men, only one of whom had been allocated a cocoa block at Ononda, decided to clear another large tract of rain forest which would then be divided equally among the participants in the scheme. The site chosen for this new block-type development was Berojou near the south-west Yega/Beuru boundary. This boundary had been declared by the Land Titles Commissioner, surveyed, and marked by cement boundary posts. Though final siting arrangements for the individual blocks had not been completed it was expected that blocks would be approximately 10 chains frontage by 20 chains depth (frontages double those of the Ononda blocks).

245 423 614 602 The Berojou scheme differs in two major respects from the earlier Yega schemes at Ononda. Firstly it was sited on land over which certain clans, Jambapa and Kurou, had recognized rights of allocation and secondly all members of the group concerned in the development were members of these two clans or had close affinal ties with them. Men related to Jambapa were allocated blocks on Jambapa land while men related to Kurou were allocated blocks on Kurou land. These relationships illustrate the way in which rain forest was traditionally cleared by the Yega. A close affinal tie was usually essential before a person could be invited to join another group and clear rain forest belonging to another clan.[1]

[1] Ten men in this group planted the land of other clans. In six cases their mothers were members of the clans on whose land they

Work on this scheme had not progressed far at the time of observation because of unseasonable weather. Underbrush and small trees had been cut by each individual on his block but it was decided to wait for dry weather before cutting the big trees by communal effort. All Yega would then be invited to help and helpers would be recompensed after the clearing of each block by a feast given by the blockholder and his family.

As with the Yega Scheme, the advice and help of Agricultural Extension Service officers was requested and given. The site was inspected and soil suitability evaluated before the Yega started clearing. However, although the layout of the Berojou blocks closely resembled the Ononda blocks, they are half an hour's walk along narrow footpaths from the Gona-Popondatta road, the only vehicular road in the area.

The people concerned in the scheme lived in various places. Most lived in the Konje area, one at Mumburada, one at Gatara, while eight lived in Beporo and one further away at Gombe. However, it was likely that the Beporo and Gombe people would move inland in the near future. There was at the time no talk of moving home sites to the new cocoa blocks at Berojou.

Conclusions

The clearing of rain forest for planting blocks with permanent tree crops whose produce was to be sold for cash was a radical departure from traditional Yega land usage. The Yega Scheme incorporated traditional principles of land tenure and work organization with modifications to meet the changed circumstances of today. Features deriving from traditional precedents were:

(i) the use of communal labour to clear the forest, and the subdivision of the cleared area among those who helped in the work;

(ii) the absence of any documentary record of the transference of rights to individual right holders (although this was later provided under new legislation);

(iii) the organization of group labour for certain tasks even though recruitment of members might not necessarily be based on purely traditional criteria;

(continued)
planted, in one case the wife was, in one case the father's sister's husband, in another the half-brother by a different father and in the last case, the father of a half-brother.

On the other hand, some feasts held today have no precise traditional equivalent. These include those associated with festivals of the local church; those to farewell or welcome home children attending distant schools, migrant workers and others; those to mark the opening of new churches, schools and medical aid posts; and finally and most recently, feasts or 'parties' to celebrate the birthdays of favoured children. 574 178

A birthday feast held in Inonda village in July 1962 illustrates changes taking place in some of the social and economic values of the community, and persistence in others. The celebration was held to mark the birthdays of the two adopted children (actually the illegitimate issue of two daughters) of a prominent local citizen, a retired mission teacher. It was the first such party held in this village, though similar parties had been held in neighbouring villages. Several villagers mentioned that they intended holding birthday parties for their first-born children. The idea was introduced by indigenous mission teachers who have attended birthday parties held by their European counterparts. 574 561 [111]

Few Orokaiva people are aware of the birth dates of their children and those few who are derive some satisfaction from the fact. In this instance, the children whose birthdays were being celebrated were a boy aged nine and a girl aged one. The party was said to be for both children, though 'mainly for the boy'. Their actual birthdays were said to have been 18 and 22 June respectively, but the feast was not held until the following Saturday as several of the villagers and many of those invited from outside the village work during the week as labourers for the Public Works Department, for a local engineering contractor and for local European planters. Almost all feasts and ceremonies conducted in this village today are held on Saturdays.

The host (the adopted father of the children) is not engaged in paid work and he and his wife, assisted by their three married daughters, spent the two preceding days gathering food from the gardens. Two of the daughters live in the same village as their father and the other in a village about six miles away. As all the host's male relatives in this village were employed at the time, he sent for his brother's grandson, a single man in a village about fifteen miles away, to come and assist. A small platform and a leaf shelter were built outside the host's house: the former to serve food on and the latter as shade for the visitors. 574 [343]

Taro was the main food provided, and of an estimated total contribution of 383 pounds, 128 pounds were brought by the host and his wife, 105 pounds by their three married daughters, 70 pounds by two clanswomen of the host's wife, and 80 pounds by three clanswomen of the host's eldest daughter's husband. 574 491 602

The two latter contributions require further explanation. Of the 70 pounds brought by the wife's kin, 40 pounds were given by a parallel cousin whose husband recognized a distant relationship to the host, and who had worked as a mission teacher with him. The remaining 30 pounds were given by a clanswoman (whose exact relationship we did not determine) who lives in a village a few minutes' walk away, and who frequently visits the host's wife. This woman's husband recognises a distant relationship to the host. Of that given by the daughter's husband's relatives, 60 pounds were contributed by a mother and daughter whose husband and father had spent his life as a work associate of the host in a neighbouring village. The remaining 20 pounds were brought by a clanswoman whose kinship link was reinforced by her residence in Inonda and her marriage to another relative of the host.

With the exception of taro supplied by the host and his wife jointly, all taro was brought by females. They were all kin of either the host, his wife or his eldest daughter's husband. But of the many relatives of these people resident in the vicinity, only five contributed. Three of these had work associations with the host and the other two had subsidiary kinship links to the wife as well as being coresident or nearly so, and enjoying frequent social interaction with the host and his wife.[1]

In former times, we were told, the men now engaged in paid work would have gone hunting to obtain meat for a feast, and would have constructed more elaborate shelters and platforms as well as erecting poles for the stacking of food contributions in such a way that they could be measured and compared. The role of the men in the preparation of this feast was negligible by comparison.

The host intended to kill a domestic pig for the feast but it escaped after being shot. A European contractor whose labourers had been invited to attend gave a pig which he had purchased for $30. The only other fresh meat was a large hornbill donated by the leader of the clan with which the eldest daughter's husband lived.[2] These two men have engaged in many exchanges over the past few years.

Of a total of $9.83 worth of store foods supplied, $2.60 worth were purchased by the host himself from his savings, $7.08 worth

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[1] In addition to the above food, the husband of a daughter of the host used the occasion to give a pig and vegetables to one of his wife's mother's clansmen who had not shared in the bride-wealth previously given by the husband for his wife. The gift was taken back to the donee clansman's village for distribution.

[2] This man does not live with his own clan, but with that of his classificatory brother's wife.

£2.90 by 16 relatives of the host's eldest daughter's husband (the one who had not been able to pay bride-wealth at the time of his marriage).[1] The latter 16 relatives came from four different villages. All but one of the total of 64 contributors of cash came from villages other than Inonda.

Contributors came from eight different localities within a range of 16 miles. There were also approximately 70 other adults who attended but did not eat or contribute. Some were from this village but the majority came from other villages in the vicinity. There were also some 30 or so children present who were not included above.

The majority of the persons present attended because of their residence in neighbouring communities and claimed no kinship links with the hosts. In earlier times, informants say, it would have been unusual for persons to attend a feast unless they were linked to the hosts by ties of kinship, marriage, or residence in the same village. Moreover, they claim, even in pre-war days it was unusual for persons from so far afield to attend a relatively small personal feast. Cash payment, it appears, is becoming an acceptable substitute for kinship links as a qualification to attend certain ceremonies.

Transfers of property at this feast differed markedly from those in feasts of the traditional type. Firstly, the food was contributed by a more restricted group, and was consumed not by all, but only by those who paid. Secondly, cash was given in place of traditional valuables (feather head-dresses, shells, arm-bands, necklaces, etc.); and thirdly, there was no reciprocal exchange for the whole of the cash was retained by the host who apparently does not acknowledge any obligation to give reciprocal help to those who brought cash, though he does recognize such an obligation to those who brought food.

In this village many of the older people wear only loin cloths made of tapa, but at the feast all but four men wore imported clothing. The four who did not were older men who remained in the shadows. A few men wore cotton lap-laps, but the majority wore short trousers. All but three wore shirts - an item of clothing that is rarely seen in the village. Quite a number wore plastic sandals, though the majority were barefooted. All the women wore cotton skirts and blouses, though in their daily work an in festivals of the traditional type they almost never wear any garment above the waist. Four young men were daubed with face powder and one wore a spring of leaves in his hair. There were no other personal adornments. At taro festivals today, and at marriages, funerals and

[1] See p.74.

583 [85] These people were expected to return a feast of similar size for the groom, in contrast to the bride-wealth for which no return payment is expected.

VII

583 613 The economic consequences of the payment were greatest in four households - those of the groom and his parallel cousin, both of Jegotumo lineage, who contributed most; and those of the bride's father and brother, both of Joremba'embo lineage, who received most. Other households' contributions to, and shares of, the payment were minor by comparison. Members of a lineage did not act as a unit for the purpose of the marriage, nor was each member expected to contribute to, or share equally in, the payment, or even to contribute in proportion to his wealth.

583 614 This was not an ideal situation in which to investigate the extent to which the Andiriha clan functions as a unit, because the marriage was within the clan. However, it was by no means a clan affair. On the one hand, Andiriha households from Hanakiro, a village distant from Inonda, took no part, and on the other, heads of households which participated in the exchange were drawn from about 20 different clans. Households from Andiriha lineages other than those of the bride and groom did not contribute significantly more to, or receive significantly larger shares of, the payment than households of other clans.

583 602 The range of genealogical connections between the groom and heads of contributing households was extremely diverse and there was a similarly wide range of relationships in the recipient group. It is therefore difficult to determine with accuracy the extent to which genealogical relationships influence obligations between households and also the extent to which a particular type of genealogical relationship implies a particular degree of obligation. Adoptive relationships and distance between households appear to modify the extent to which genealogical relationships entail obligations.

583 621 Co-residence in a village may also have some influence. Some people, though not all, from each of Kakendetta, Hohota I, Hohota II and Urio villages contributed to the payment, but nobody from these villages received a share. On the other hand, no member of Hosou, Ajoro, Seva or Jegerata - villages which received parts of the payment - made a contribution. Inonda was the only village in which there were both contributors and recipients. This may indicate that membership of a particular village was a factor determining the group with which a household was aligned and may

241 422 592 423 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation, he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult, his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of [578] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

472 24 464 [654] D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well [466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with [591] its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

[62] Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the [602] people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

472 654 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Gona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.

463 An examination of whether elective positions of responsibility
472 were held before or after entrepreneurial activities commenced
571 suggests that persons with leadership qualities already recognised
621 by the community are more likely to engage in such activities.

Table 7

Time relation between entrepreneurial activity and elected position

Time elected	A	B	E	F	G	I	J	L
Before trade store opened	'	'	'	?	'	?		'
After trade store opened							'*	

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

The holding of an elective position of responsibility concomitantly with carrying on entrepreneurial activities is not necessarily an advantage to the entrepreneur. Several of the subjects had found that their community duties were time-consuming and interfered with their trading activities.

463 Household composition. It is impossible to say whether a large
472 household tends to inhibit trading success but the data suggest that
592 it may.

Group I subjects averaged 6.5 persons per household, group II, 5.75 persons and group III, 5.25 persons.

Many entrepreneurs complained that relatives, particularly older ones, took food and other items from the stores without payment but we have no measured data on this point.

Table 8

Size of household

A	8	E	5	I	10
B	3	F	4	J	3
C	10	G	5	K	6
D	5	H	9	L	2
Average	6.5		5.75		5.25

463 Residence in or out of village. In traditional Orokaiva society
472 members of a village or clan were bound together by a complex system
602 of kinship ties and obligations (Williams 1930:335). Subsistence
[366] derives from the land and social security from the fulfilment of obligatory ties which bring reciprocal returns in times of sickness,

463 old age or other need. The system was not geared toward capital
472 accumulation, nor was the bulk of material reward retained by the
man who made the effort. To achieve maximum economic efficiency a
602 modern entrepreneur must disengage himself to some extent from his
366 kinship obligations. As Table 9 shows, a number of the entrepreneurs studied have physically removed themselves from the village to live near their cash crops, or have built close to, but outside, their villages. Thus while the vast majority of Orokaiva people live within a village, most entrepreneurs among them do not, and all the most successful live outside their home villages.[1] Independence, however, may place the entrepreneur in a vulnerable position. He has reduced access to the security provided by traditional ties, reciprocal obligations and religious rites within the village community, and there are at present no alternative provisions for social security.

Table 9 suggests that there may possibly be advantages in trading away from one's own village and where one is not dependent on one's villagers as customers. All three traders within their own village have had little or no success, and all the most successful groups are outside or away from their home village.

Table 9

Location of store

Location	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H*	I	J	K	L
Away from own village (i.e. own villagers not usual customers)	•			•				•	•			•
Close to but outside own village		•					•			•	•	
Within own village			•		•	•						

* H's village is to be shifted to the present location of his trade store. He resides within his own village.

[166] Half of the least successful traders were still living in the village of their birth, whereas 75 per cent of the traders in both groups II and III were not living in the village in which they were born.

463 Of the sixty-seven indigenes in the Northern District holding
472 trading licences, twenty-three are shown in the government records
366

[1] Likewise all four entrepreneurs studied by Crocombe (1967:5) lived outside their villages.

Even those entrepreneurs who engaged relatives were not in favour of doing so, and none hired unrelated members of the same village. The traditional complex of relationships within the village tends to undermine the authority of a local employer, and this makes it difficult for entrepreneurs to enforce their orders. Wherever possible, they hire workers whose contact with the village in which the crop or store is located is minimal. They are usually hired as short-term casual labour on cash crops and are rarely employed in the stores. The employer-employee relationship has no traditional precedent and entrepreneurs try to follow their conception of a European model.

463 472 466 464 571 402 [177]

Table 11

No. of co-operating adult male kin

A	1	E	4	I	2
B	1	F	1	J	2
C	3	G	4	K	3
D	4	H	2	L	3
Average	2.25		2.75		2.5

Table 12

Labour engaged by entrepreneurs to help with cash crops

463 472 464 466 465

Entrepreneur	Labour: Extended family or siblings — No.	Period	Payment	Non-relatives from same village	Non-relatives from different village — No.	Period	Payment
A	-			-	1 1	1 month 2 months	$3/month and food - do -
B	-			-	-		
C	3	occasional	50c per week	-	-		
D	4	6 months establishing	food	-	-		
E	4	occasional	food and clothing	-	4	establishment	$4 per fortnight
F	-	previous casual help	food, etc.	-	-		
G	4	occasional	store goods, food and pigs	-	-		
H	-			-	1 1	1 month 3 months	$4 per month
I	2	occasional	food and clothing	-	-		
J	1	regular	food, no cash yet	-	-		
K	2	occasional	food, etc.	-	1	occasional	$1.50 per fortnight
L	2	short period	$2.50 per week	used to employ 3, abandoned as unsatisfactory.	3	occasional	$2.50 per week

463 The five subjects who had hired labourers who were not related
472 to them all paid cash wages. A and H have received $1,500 govern-
464 ment loans to develop their blocks and have thus had the capital
426 to pay for labour. They have not relied on kinship assistance at
657 all. The loan has been an effective substitute for kin ties. L derives the capital necessary to hire labour from her trade store.

It will be noted that all non-relatives are paid in cash, but
463 most relatives are paid in kind. Most entrepreneurs are still
472 dependent on the help of relatives, as they do not have the cash
465 to pay hired labour, and are thus forced, willingly or not, to exploit their kinship ties.

464 Property

602 Land and cash crops. Most of the twelve subjects did not have any records of cash crop production or sales, so it was impossible
463 to calculate their success in cash-cropping according to these two
472 criteria. For this reason their cash-cropping activity has been assessed in terms of the number of economic trees each has planted.

423 Ten of the twelve entrepreneurs have cash crops, and another has
245 cleared land for 500 coffee trees. The following table shows that the most successful entrepreneurs have the fewest cash crops. The
[426] largest cash croppers (A, D and H) have leases of government land
[429] and government development loans of $1,500, but even when they are
[657] omitted the proportions between the three groups remain similar.

Table 13

Commercial trees owned by each entrepreneur*

Entrepreneur	Coffee	Coconut	Cocoa	Total economic trees	Title to land	Years since cash-cropping began	Average trees
A	100	-	1,085	1,185	L	3	
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	702
C	334	88	-	422	C	?	
D	-	-	1,200	1,200	L	4	
E	1,600	11	-	1,611	C	20	
F	300	46	100	446	C	9	1,800
G	388	52	-	440	C	7	
H	-	-	4,702	4,702	L	4	
I	-	170	200	370	C	11	
J	intends to plant	-	-	-	C	-	168
K	150	-	-	150	C	9	
L	150	-	-	150	C	10	

* Coconut and other trees used for home consumption only have been excluded.

Table 19

Traders as at January 1966

463
472
444

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Economic variables			
Store turnover per month	-	under $50	over $50
Store outside village	75%	50%	100%
Average no. of economic trees	702	1,800	168
Traditional valuables	$31.51	$46.16	$7.50
Liquid assets	$37.32	$212.00*	$322.66*
Months of operation of store	19.5	17.75	7.25
Tools and equipment	$124.68	$177.75	$143.97
Loans received: land	50%	25%	-
store	25%	-	50%
Social variables			
Age	35.25	41.75	29
Index of education	26.7	3.75	46.7
Years of paid work	11.25	8.75	4
Non-traditional experience	16.75	10.25	11.75
Job: level 1 responsibility	-	25%	75%
level 2 responsibility	75%	50%	-
Community leadership	50%	75%	50%
More than one leadership position	-	50%	25%
No. of co-operating adult male kin	2.25	2.75	2.5
Size of present household	6.5	5.75	5.25
Eldest son	75%	25%	-
Residence village different from village of birth	50%	75%	75%

* No information on one subject in group.

The most successful traders had the smallest households, but used the help of co-operating kinsmen more than the least successful (whose present households were the largest) and less than group II (whose households were also large). The moderately successful traders depended most on the help of kinsmen, but not nearly so extensively as cash-cropping entrepreneurs previously studied (see Crocombe 1967). [592] [602]

571 against sickness, crop failure and other catastrophes. The mutual
602 obligation system which operates among kinsmen 'acts as a man's
182 trade union, his friendly or benefit society, his slate club and his orphanage; it takes the place for him of health insurance, and if needs be provides for his funeral' (Lawrence 1964:34).

121 If it is hoped to set up individual farmers independent of their kinsmen some substitute must be found for the traditional method of social insurance. For as Fisk (1961:777) has pointed out, 'in an underdeveloped country...ready and prompt access to assistance in time of need is a variable of considerable importance to the settler'. Attempts to break down traditional obligation patterns by individualisation of tenure have often met with little success. In Egypt (see Gadalla 1962:80) and in various parts of the Pacific (Crocombe 1964b:127 and 1965:15) land registration schemes designed to result in individual tenure have failed to achieve individual ownership and use of land.

476 There are indications that traditional obligation patterns may
571 be continuing at Ombi-Tara since tenure conversion was introduced.
178 Blocks were cleared by kin groups in accordance with custom. Two
[689] men mentioned that there had been an arrangement whereby if a person worked on the block of another man but the second man did not reciprocate, he would have to pay the first man 80 cents. However, both people said that no one had had to pay it. Two men who were working for wages on road maintenance near Ombi village bought food from the nearby store for those who helped clear their blocks. Five people claimed that they had helped clear other people's blocks but had not received any assistance in return. Everyone who was questioned said that no new obligations had been established by the process of clearing but this may be open to question.

423 It has already been mentioned that conversion involved substan-
657 tial redistribution and equalisation of right holdings. Whether obligation to the 'donors' will be established as a result is a matter for future observation.

The blocks of three of the four absentee blockholders were being cleared and planted by kinsmen. The block of the fourth absentee had not been cleared at the time of our stay. It is likely that some obligations will be established by this assistance.

Two families are living in houses constructed on the block of another man; and several people have cocoa, coffee or bush rubber trees growing on blocks held by other people. These situations are discussed on p.29 below. A 1

The Ombi man who moved to his block to protect his taro from the sorcery of another villager replanted some of his taro on the block of a kinsman, for further protection. This was the only reported case of a person planting crops on the block of another
A [See Category 425--Analyst.]

18: Dakeyne K-5 (1962-1964) 1969
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Yega

602 Kinship groups are of major importance in the functioning of village society in New
[619] Guinea. Every individual is a member not
[614] only of a parish but also of groups of closer
[613] kin, a clan, and maybe a lineage. Lacking any
602 system of payment in cash for services ren-
464 dered, the villager obtains the assistance of his
476 relatives for heavy work such as the felling of big trees to make a swidden, dragging a canoe log to the beach, or making a long seine fishing net. Obligations thus incurred are met either by reciprocating when asked or by making a gift. The kinship group provides
602 social stability and in practice the pattern of
311 land use is frequently decided by the senior
241 members of the group. The planting of food crops by any member, even on land to which he does not control cultivation rights, causes no concern because rights to temporary usage may be easily granted, but the planting of tree crops, which may remain in the ground from thirty to eighty years, is a different matter. Planting tree crops is tantamount to alienating the land for at least a generation and very often some members, at least, of the kinship group object to such long-term use. Even if they do agree to an individual member planting tree crops, there is almost always the assumption that he must share any profit he makes with other members of the group. Individuals who have planted cash crops under these conditions generally become discouraged when they see the fruits of their labours being reaped by kinsmen who contribute little or nothing towards production.

657 In its attempts to stimulate production of
423 cash crops by indigenes, the Administration
177 has approved a series of land tenure laws, the last and most radical of which was passed in 1964 providing for the registration by indigenes of individual freehold title to land: a measure designed eventually to establish a European system of land tenure throughout
[578] the Territory. In the meantime, such measures, by pitting traditionally conservative people against the products of modern Western education, are a cause of internal conflict within indigenous society.

632 The establishment of towns, unknown be-
177 fore the coming of Europeans, has forced an even more drastic adaptation than have the

[P.3-A]

changes in rural areas. For a man to leave his village and go to work in the town means long separation from his family and from his kin, an experience unheard of in the past. Separation from his relatives means that he may be facing dangerous risks from the sorcery of foreigners in an unknown country. This is one reason why migrant workers tend to live in kin clusters in the towns. Unemployment, inadequate living quarters, low wages, the necessity for paying in cash for all goods and services, and the obligation to send cash gifts to relatives in the villages, all add to the town dwellers' difficulties.

The three areas to be studied in this book are:

1. The north coast of Papua, near Popondetta, inhabited by the Yega people.
2. Central Bougainville, near Kieta, inhabited by the Nasioi people.
3. Port Moresby — two indigenous communities.

These three areas have been selected because they are all experiencing rapid change. Moreover, they are areas of actual or potentially great economic development. The stresses and strains put on the traditional way of life in such circumstances are particularly severe; study of such situations may help to give students a deeper appreciation of the problems faced by the people of New Guinea today.

Northern Papua and Central Bougainville are rural areas where the inhabitants have a primarily subsistence economy basically similar to that of their traditional culture, but modified by the innovations introduced by Europeans and latterly by their own educated younger members. There are, however, important differences which are summarised below.

Topography. Northern Papua is a gently-sloping, almost featureless plain, covered by rain forest interspersed with grassland, traversed by a few braided streams and many small creeks. Central Bougainville is mountainous with peaks up to 7,000 feet above sea level. Steep, tree-covered slopes, rocky outcrops, and rushing streams which rise rapidly after rain are typical features.

Social. The social structure of the Yega is localised patrilineal clans, sub-clans, and lineages, inhabiting a few square miles of land.

[P.3-B]

LAND TENURE

614 423 Each clan controls some areas of mature rain forest, some of secondary forest, and some of grassland. Only the secondary forest is regarded as valuable garden land. The mature rain forest is potential garden land of the future, and grassland is unimportant, except for hunting. Clan land-holdings are fragmented within the confines of Yega territory. This pattern can be explained partly by the social system of land use and partly by the history of Yega expansion inland from the coast. The 613 476 423 members of different lineages belonging to the same clan normally combine to clear areas of rain forest by communal labour. When the work is completed the land is divided among the lineages which helped clear it. This is 614 423 [613] the origin of the pattern of large continuous strips of land belonging to one clan, but sub-divided amongst the sub-clans and lineages of that clan as shown in Fig. 3. The commonly elongated shape of clan holdings is the result of continuous clearing in one direction by a group of kinsmen talking and joking as they worked and thus keeping close together. The small enclaves of land shown 614 602 423 within the general Kurou clan area but belonging to other clans (Fig. 3) may be explained by affinal relationships. At various times the Kurou men cutting down the forest gave permission to some men of other clans, who had married Kurou women, to work with [428] them. These affinal kinsmen thus acquired cultivation rights to small pieces of land, which have been inherited by their descendents. The first areas cleared were close to the coast; as population increased and more land was required, the inland forests were cut down in the manner described above.

241 423 613 [614] Rights to cultivate land are controlled not by the clans but by the lineages; in each lineage the oldest member living in the parish territory has the authority to say which land shall be cleared for gardens and how the work is to be organized; fragmentation is thus reduced. In practice, however, many lineages are numerically small and the sub-clan head coordinates the work of members of the lineages

[P.7-A]

241 423 613 is maintained today because, the Yega say, it makes the work lighter if you have someone to gossip with, and to share a watermelon or a smoke during rest breaks. The effect is that, at any one time, many people of a sub-clan are using land to which they do not hold cultivation rights.

241 423 [602] [614] The granting of temporary rights to plant a food crop is normal procedure. A right-holder frequently grants such rights to affinal kin of a different clan or even to an affinal kinsman from a neighbouring parish. An outsider granted such a right would *never* consider that he had any permanent right to Yega land. He would simply give the right-holder a gift or, if asked, would lend land in return.

[431] [426] 226 [462] The Yega are coastal people and expert fishermen. Fishing is an exclusively male occupation and fish have always been an important food. Eleven reefs are known by the Yega to exist off their strip of coast; rights to fish over these reefs are held by the clans whose ancestors first discovered them. Any person who catches fish over a reef belonging to another clan must give a gift from his catch to the right-holders. Fish are caught by many different methods but the commonest nowadays is by skin-diving with a home-made spear gun and goggles made in Hong Kong.

226 423 614 [431] [109]

SUBSISTENCE GARDENING

241 The Yega gardening routine is similar to the general procedure described earlier. The main features are universal inter-planting of a wide range of food plants and a shifting-field system which provides a continuous supply of fresh vegetable food. Some special features of Yega agriculture are worth noting. These are:

241 242 a) *The shifting-field cycle.* The average length of the fallow period for twenty-one swiddens investigated was 7·4 years. Such a figure is apt to be misleading. It tends to give the impression that New Guineans are much more organized than in fact they are. Some swiddens were fallowed for as little as two years . . . 'because my brother made his garden over there and I wanted to work near him!', while others had been left as long as thirteen years . . . 'because the soil isn't very good in this place.' Human factors as well as physical

January 1951. The failure of this scheme emphasises the important role of the individual leader in any innovation in New Guinea.

An important modification to the residential pattern resulted from the Agricultural Co-operative. Not only was co-operation practised in the gardens but co-operative theory was preached as a Christian ideal in the churches and taught in the schools and training colleges of the Anglican Mission. The teachers emphasised the practical advantages of living in a large community; for example, co-operative labour could be easily organized, social clubs could function more readily and school, church, and hospital would be more readily accessible to the majority. Most Yega accepted this view and, during 1953, many of them rebuilt their houses in a planned rectangular village, Beporo, close to the mission station (Figs. 4, 12). Here there was a tendency for the household heads of each clan to group their dwellings together and to maintain the same inter-clan relationships as had existed in the smaller villages. Nevertheless, there was a breakdown in the previously tight social control over the location of dwellings. Some men exercised this freedom by building away from their clansmen but near to their wives' kin and in some instances even sharing a dwelling with them.

Since 1960, seven new inland villages have been established along the road leading from Gona mission to the town of Popondetta. This movement inland from the coast was initiated by the development of a cocoa-planting project which is without doubt the most significant change in land use to have occurred yet. In 1960 the old wartime road between Gona and Popondetta (actually the last stage of the Kokoda Trail) was re-opened by the efforts of the Anglican missionary living at Gona. It gave access to land at Ononda which in the opinion of the District Agricultural Officer (DAO) was suitable for cocoa. As the Yega had previously made enquiries about planting cocoa, the DAO now advised them to clear a large area of rain forest and plant their cocoa in a continuous strip, which would then be sub-divided into individual blocks, rather than in the small scattered plots which is the usual pattern of indigenous cash crop plantings.

[P.15-A]

124 really stood. In this, there may have been a certain hollowness;
177 I never saw among all the Orokaiva a young man who was as scared of his affines as this one. One reason why I employed the young woman as second interpreter was that nothing would induce him to open his mouth when I wanted to talk to his classificatory father-in-laws. In all significant respects, then, he offered little challenge to accepted tradition.

867 Children were trained by their parents in the prevalent system
869 of custom and belief, as modified by recent changes; they maintained
177 their traditional regard for their elders, not regarding their school knowledge as giving them any claims to superiority. Their elders did, as far as I know, make no use of the knowledge their children gained at school; my two interpreters were the technicians when letters had to be written or other newfangled problems solved. Everyone in the
621 village, including ourselves, were expected to fulfill reciprocal
571 obligations in the community; the acculturated young were certainly expected to help their kinsfolk, especially if their knowledge had
602 yielded cash. Even those absent on jobs in town were always asked (and occasionally expected) to help. There was only one partial escape from community obligations and that was to live outside the village. Migrants knew that whatever possessions they had amassed away from home would soon have to be shared out if they returned to Sivepa. While they were away, they could more often refuse demands with impunity. But they knew that unsatisfied claims tended to be stacked up against their return. Some claims were purely try-ons. I have myself been the communicator of such claims from a Kongohambo man to his kinsmen in Port Moresby; I could see that the response to some of them was merely hearty laughter. But others, communicated at the same time, were taken seriously; some gift had to be made.

[626] The penalty threatening an absentee who neglected his kin had
[423] to be paid when that absentee returned; especially when that absentee wanted to resume possession of his land holdings. Little would it benefit him that certain lands had been left to him by his father, for during his absence, other men had been "looking after" them. If he had neglected these men, his rights would be hard to reassert; the community would give him little sympathy. If he had been generous during his absence, he could be strong in his claims; his relations would then show him benevolence. Rights could be kept warm only by constant exchanges; a moratorium of more than one year begins to be risky. While a man is in town, the exchanges seem unequal; money or clothes go to the village; some taro are sent to town (when I went to Port Moresby I was given a sack of these to carry, to be distributed by a knowing relative in town).

626 For those who remain in the village, the sanctioning mechanisms are mostly informal. Failure in one's obligations means loss of status, leads to gossip, derogatory remarks to one's face, perhaps even a harangue at night by a man at the other end in the village.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Rich data on the symbolism defining the *philia* relationship in religio-philosophic terms are available in Strathern (1971). I have already expounded elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1972) that the theme of *philia* (its establishment, disruption, and restoration) is a central issue in New Guinean thought and that it enters into many levels of culture: geographical, zoological, social, magical, religious, and aesthetic.

THE OROKAIVA CASE

Up to this point, I have given some empirical illustrations of simple analytical distinctions. Thus, we can no longer take for granted that the *philia* universe always consists of friends and kin for it may define all friends as kin (as in the Maori) or vice versa (as in the Telefolmin). On the other hand, there are societies where the distinction friend/kin is of subordinate importance because the *philia* universe is classified by different criteria such as cooperative/competitive (Tangu) or real/feeble (South Fore). Then again, there are societies where consanguinity is a distinctive criterion within the *philia* system, but only in combination with other factors (Melpa).

If the Orokaiva case, of which a description now follows, seems more complex than the preceding ones, this may be attributed, at least to some extent, to my method of presentation. While most Oceanic sources are too brief on the subject of friendship to enable us to go beyond summary statements,[5] the Orokaiva facts resemble those reported by Burridge (1957a; 1969) in many respects. But in some respects, the Orokaiva system seems more explicit. It differs from Tangu in having a slightly stronger patrilineal emphasis, less emphasis on collateral relations, and a stronger avoidance of affines. The Orokaiva marriage system, reported elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a), seems more highly structured. These factors are probably related to higher population density, larger social networks, higher soil fertility, and more pervasive warfare.

The Orokaiva (population 25,000) live on the fertile volcanic loam of the Mount Lamington foothills. Their main crop of taro once supported villages of six to twelve families, although now, the villages are often larger mainly because of pressure from the Australian administration. Williams (1928, 1930)[6] characterized the society as patrilineal with a strong bilateral emphasis. Women hold a relatively high position which is maintained

5 Early accounts of New Guinea friendship relations are in Mead (1938) and Williams (1940). Later accounts of a *namel* type of relationship are in Pouwer (1955) and Hogbin (1964) and of the *otavo* type in Heider (1970), Oliver (1955), Schoorl (n.d.). The "resemblance friends" found by Williams among the Elema are not unlike the fictive *simbo* of the Orokaiva.

6 Other useful sources on Orokaiva social organization are Crocombe and Hogbin (1963), Rimoldi (1966), Krinks and Waddell (1968), Schwimmer (1967, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972).

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

through the close brother-sister links that endure after marriage and that are expressed through strong links between sister's son and mother's brother. Genealogies are brief, but the Orokaiva classify themselves into supposedly agnatic units by grouping together persons who respect the same plant emblem which is treated as an ancestor. Clans are dispersed, and although local clan groups continue relations after dispersal, they soon begin to intermarry.

In the Orokaiva *philia* system, the distinction consanguine/non-consanguine occurs, but only feebly. Far more important are three cross-cutting categories which may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) the cooperative alliance, centred on sibling and parental bonds; 2) the competitive group exchange system, centred on relations with affines and uterines; 3) the total interdependence relations existing between spouses and cross-cousins.

Previously (Schwimmer, 1970a; 1970b; 1972), I have shown that the Orokaiva kinship universe may be viewed as made up of these three main components. In particular, the symbolization of the conjugal bond does not coincide with either the cooperative or the competitive mode, but is expressed in the symbiosis of plants (such as coconut and areca) which exhibit both binary opposition and total interdependence relationships. The cross-cousin bond has the same components and, at least in ideology, a comparable strength.

In this essay, I shall present data on the friendship universe and show that Orokaiva have institutionalized friendships of several types, some of which are hereditary. I hope to show that each type of friendship corresponds to one of the basic categories of the kin universe. Thus, if my argument is correct, the same categories would hold for the entire *philia* universe of which kinship and friendship would become homomorphous components. Friendship would not have one specific idiom, but a set of idioms which have already been stated in *philia* ideology and symbolized in the religio-philosophic system. Friendship thus becomes a dynamic dimension of kinship. Superficially, it looks like a minor supplement of the kinship system, but it is essential in filling ever-widening lacunae in the kinship system and preventing progressive entropy.

Orokaiva Kin and Friendship Idioms

Between the districts where the data were collected, there are slight differences in dialect (Hohorita in the Sangara district and Sivepe in the Sasembata district), including the way kin and friendship terms are used. The Sangara and Sasembata people are tribe-like groups, hereditary enemies, with seemingly similar social organizations.

Provisionally, it is best to regard the Sangara and Sasembata nomenclatures as variants of the same system. I shall not deal here with intergenerational terminology since it is mainly used in a familial context, whereas

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our concern is with the total *philia* universe. Meaningful contacts outside the village tend to be almost wholly with persons of the same generation. I shall therefore discuss the intra-generational terms of reference and address, both in the kin and friendship idioms, and both in the Sangara and Sasembata dialects.

The kinship idiom[7] (discussed in detail in Schwimmer, 1970a) contains four consanguinal and three affinal terms; an oversimplified analysis gives the following meanings (for an explanation of the symbols, see footnote 7):

apa SS Sen G-O //C	*simbo* G-O X C	*dambo* Me SS G-O A
eambo SS Jun G-O // C	*ivu* husband	*hovatu* OS G-O A
du OS G-O // C	*ae* wife	*bi* Fe SS G-O A

Affinal relations, according to explicit Orokaiva norms, are cold, formal, and distant though polite, and restrained by strict taboos. Affinal terminology always carries the connotation of obligation and avoidance, and it is never suitable for easy informal discourse. Indeed, when a person desires to keep up easy, informal relations with an affine (and this occasionally happens), his only resource is to maintain whatever term of address he used before the marriage.

All the consanguine terms, however, are regularly used in addressing unrelated persons with whom hereditary friendship links exist, at least in the Sasembata district. *Apa* and *eambo* are also used between men in the same context as the Maori use the term *hoa*; that is, informally and without any implication of kinship or permanent relationship. The wife of a fictional *apa* or *eambo* is called *du* (sibling of opposite sex), but never by an affinal term. The fictional *simbo* differs from the fictional sibling with regard to reciprocal rights and obligations, as will be shown below.

The following Orokaiva terms are used exclusively in a friendship context: *namei* (Sangara) or *apa/eambo* (Sasembata), designating a male friend of a male speaker in the same generation; *otavo* (Sangara and Sasembata) meaning a partner in trading or dancing, or a journey, or a war expedition – a

7 The following classificatory principles underlie the Orokaiva kinship system:
Consanguine (C): *Ego* traces relationship to *alter* through a chain of linkages based on filiation, or a shared clan name, or common birth in a distant village.
Affine (A): Spouses of consanguines of own and junior generation; co-eval and senior consanguines of those spouses.
Generational Removal: G-O: Same generation as *ego*. G1: One generation removed. G2: Two or more generations removed.
Sex of alter: Me: Male. Fe: Female.
Relative sex of ego and alter: SS: Same Sex. OS: Opposite Sex.
Relative sex in consanguineal linkages: //: Relationship is either wholly agnatic or wholly uterine. X: Relationship is neither wholly agnatic nor wholly uterine. It passes through at least one opposite sex linkage.
Relative age of alter: Sen: Older. Jun: Younger.

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But for most everyday purposes, the cooperative alliance is even smaller and does not extend beyond the three-generation family.

Relations with uterines, affines, and more distant agnates (that is, those beyond the lineage, and those who are resident in other villages) follow the pattern of competitive exchange. An example of what this implies would be the role of mother's brother as officiator at initiations. Elsewhere, (Schwimmer, 1970b) I show that ideologically, he is the proper person for the office, but that the father's brother and even the father would do as well. The mother's brother is not obliged to act; he is paid if he acts; furthermore he will act only if prior to an initiation, the neophyte involved has obliged his uncle by rendering him small services and being pleasant to him. Certainly the mo/bro si/so relationship is a warm affectionate one, but it is explicitly free from unconditional obligation. It is, in fact, the first formal relationship into which a person enters, where prestations on both sides are by free choice.

How can we explain that, at least in Sasembata, the Orokaiva classify guest friends with the sibling group (by applying the terms *apa/eambo* to them), whereas the Tangu use an affinal idiom? The answer is that siblingship has different connotations in the two tribes. Burridge (1969) emphasizes, above all, the amity that must govern the relationship between senior and junior siblings among the Tangu. If the junior sibling becomes unduly competitive, it is not held against him, but the relationship is redefined so that he becomes a *mwerkindang* – a competitor instead of a subordinate and protégé. The Orokaiva do not permit such a change in status; the younger brother must obey or sever his relations with his family. Moreover, the *apa/eambo* relationship is not confined to the cooperative alliance but includes distant agnates and all uterines within the exogamous group. A good deal of competition and exchange normally occurs between such kin, although the ideology of the *apa/eambo* relationship is basically that of a corporate group pooling resources for the support and protection of its members.

Secondly, the custom of classifying guest friends with siblings is not general among Orokaiva; the Sangara use the term *namei*. Furthermore, terminology is as much an ideological device as a reflection of reality. Use of *apa/eambo* means that people should behave *as if* they were siblings; that is, make free gifts instead of exchange gifts. These terms may be used when one seeks to extract a presentation from a comparative stranger, in which case they mean little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. In an hereditary friendship in which it is unusual to make claims, the terms signify that the gifts made to a visiting friend are not repayable but free. Certainly, it would be considered wrong to press claims on the basis of such gifts. On the other hand, the host is expected (*not* merely permitted) to make a return visit, and if he does not present gifts on that occasion, he will certainly be the subject of gossip and loss of reputation.

In considering the manner in which these gifts are given, Sahlins'

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Relationships of this sort are sometimes intertribal as women abducted by enemies were in the habit of maintaining contact with each other, and such contact was inherited by their sons and daughters. When men belong to an *otavo* relationship (see p. 67 below), their wives address each other as *jao*.

(c) *Simbo*. Outside the cooperative group, social relations (even with consanguines) are spoken of as voluntary. This applies especially to distant consanguines and non-resident consanguines. Thus, the kin category *simbo* must contain many members, if purely genealogical criteria are to be used. If two consanguines share no plant emblem and are related through siblings of the opposite sex, they fall within the *simbo* category (the term is not precisely equivalent to cross-cousins). There is no limit on kinship distance, and persons recognized as *simbo* may be cousins several times removed. Often, it is impossible to reconstruct the genealogical connection. Like Orokaiva kin links, this one is simply inherited from generation to generation (bilaterally, in this case).

As one cannot get informants to list more than ten or twelve *simbo* families dispersed in a number of villages, one must assume that *simbo* links, like those of hereditary friendship, are often forgotten. On the other hand, one may always rediscover a *simbo* while on a journey, so that there is a reservoir of unused links that can be revived. In general, however, a relationship can be relied upon only if it is kept alive by periodic contact.

The best translation of *simbo* would probably be: potential preferential marriage partner. While the primary meaning refers to a cross-sexual relationship, the male *simbo* have a special kind of bond which fits neither the cooperative nor the competitive exchange category. Literally, *simbo* is a marriage arrangement made when a girl has gone through the ceremony of menstrual seclusion and *kogumbari*,[8] but is not yet marriageable. Two aspects of the relationship between male *simbo* which are always stressed are the great love *simbo* have towards one another, and the rigorous taboo observances that are customary and strictly enforced.

The taboos resemble those practised between *dambo* (brothers-in-law); this is reasonable because if a man marries his female *simbo*, her brother becomes that man's *dambo*. The same taboos exist against mentioning the *simbo*'s name. All quarreling in the presence of a *simbo* is strictly forbidden. If a quarrel occurs nonetheless and *simbo* orders one to stop, one must obey or else pay a pig as compensation. If *simbo* touches any of one's possessions, one must give that object to *simbo*. A request made by *simbo* cannot be refused. This last rule about possessions and requests does not apply to *dambo*.

8 The term means decoration and is applied to face-painting, dressing the head with feathers, the wearing of shell and bone ornaments, armlets, fur arm pendants, and the like. A boy or girl is first decorated on the occasion of initiation. The dressing up is then usually done by an expert in the clan and paid for by the parents. For details see Williams, 1930; Schwimmer, 1970b, 1970c.

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602 The Orokaiva say that the *dambo* relation, although similar in many respects, is colder, more formal than the *simbo* relation. If a man dies in war, his *simbo* will die with him. The same intensity of feeling was not expressed about agnates. The feeling is the same where female *simbo* are concerned, except that "women cannot always do what men do." *Simbo* relations were especially important during the period of courting, war-like raids, and bravery in collecting war trophies.

602 572 The *simbo* relation resembles in many ways the kind of friendship described by Paine (this volume, pp. 117–37). There is a sense of worth having a *simbo* as a companion. The relationship is oriented towards what is regarded as the great things in life, principally love and war. It does not tolerate bargaining of any kind. It is not competitive exchange because *simbo* are not supposed to compete or exchange; it is not strictly cooperative either, as it does not bear the burdens of everyday obligations characteristic of the domestic unit. The taboos effectively separate *simbo* from each other on this everyday plane. In the mythical texts, we find an aspect of *simbo* [773] relations not stressed in ideology: in them, the *simbo* are forever playing nasty tricks on each other, depriving each other of benefits that are requested, and stealing each other's girls. But in such tales, virtue tends to win in the end. They form a charter, in Malinowski's sense, for the rules about *simbo* behaviour.

In the *philia* universe, *simbo* occupy a special position; namely a rejection or negation of both the cooperative and the competitive modes. The cooperative mode, taken by itself, leads to entropy; the competitive mode, taken by itself, leads to perpetual conflict. The *simbo* relation is a synthesis of the two, as is reasonable enough if one remembers it is symbolically equivalent to marriage, as analysed by Aristotle.

572 608 Fictive *simbo* bonds are sometimes created between non-kin who are engaged in an appropriate common enterprise and who desire to express their mutual warmth of feeling. Such a relationship gives friends a kind of explicit claim on each other's property and services. Because of the name [551] taboo which applies loosely in these non-kin bonds, *simbo* tend to address each other by special names known as *simbo* names.

For instance, one morning I was working on a task with a Papuan friend, when a visitor entered with a gift of eating bananas. My friend broke off a twin banana and shared it with me. "Now we are *be pije*" (banana men), he said, explaining that this was one of the *simbo* names most frequently used. If the two friends happen to find a twin areca nut, they become *be sa* (areca men); similarly one finds *be hinga* (pepper men) *be junga* (fig men) and so on. The relationship is extended to the wives of the fictive *simbo*, who become known as *ka pije*, *ka sa*, and so on. Thus, my wife became my friend's "banana girl." While such a relationship was not explicitly described as hereditary, it is easy to see how it can be transmitted from generation to generation.

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572 The rejection of both the cooperative and the competitive relationship applies to fictive *simbo* as well as to the genealogical *simbo*. The sharing of a 602 fruit is a ritual that is sometimes performed between a married couple; for 608 example, when the community has decided to hold a feast. It symbolizes [824] that the partners become one. But a twin fruit is not completely one; from another viewpoint, it consists of two separable halves. Here, it is again deceptive to speak of "fictive" *simbo*. Rather, it is more accurate to say that consanguinity of a certain type is one attribute of the tenure of a relationship while sharing a twin fruit is another equivalent attribute of tenure.

The basic concern of the *simbo* relationship lies in critical and dangerous enterprises, and inasmuch, it is reasonable to want the company of someone who, if necessary, is willing to die with his *simbo*. The relationship resembles marriage in its total interdependence. The Orokaiva system of classification is able to make a clear distinction between this pattern and the *namei* pattern with its far more stable socio-political setting.

572 (d) *Otavo*. Friendships are more numerous now than in the past when travel was more dangerous. The *otavo* relationship, which may exist between cognates and non-cognates alike, applies primarily to a specific activity in [439] which pairing is required. Its main starting points were, traditionally, trading and feasting. When a man visited a strange village to trade, say, lime, feathers, areca, or a string bag, *and* if buyer and seller were personally attracted to one another, then an enduring *otavo* relationship might develop.

572 Similarly, feasting occasions between villages often result in *otavo* rela- 574 tions. Partnerships have to be arranged for accommodating guests in host households. Sometimes guest and host families are strangers before the feast, but are paired together at a preliminary meeting. Such a relationship might be ephemeral but it is usual to keep to the same partnerships for the return visit. If the partners are sufficiently attracted to each other, an hereditary friendship will result. In the second generation, if not before, the *apa/eambo* terminology will be used.

[535] The term *otavo* is also used to refer to partners who choose one another specifically for dancing. The partners are of the same sex and they tend to stay together for long periods. They may or may not be consanguines.

572 *Otavo* relations are essentially competitive, both partners vying with one another in trade, prowess in war, hospitality, the dance. They also compete with the rest of the group in that some couples enjoy a higher reputation than others. Feasting partners make a great effort to gather many gifts for one another; competitive giving is, for the most part, on the level of households. Outside the activity, the *otavo* have no obligations toward one another.

In modern times, friendships can have many other starting points: work in a plantation, study in a boarding school, and other activities. Traditional connections were often with villages at the outer edge of the area where intra-group morality applied (in the sense of Williams, 1930), and sometimes a little beyond.

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572 For the present argument, it suffices to note that the term *otavo*, which neither implies nor denies the existence of a kin relation, designates an aspect of Papuan social exchange to which previous anthropologists have given most attention. As we have seen, the *otavo* represents only one of three modalities of Orokaiva partnership and the other two can in no way be reduced to it. Even the *otavo* relation is not solely concerned with extrinsic benefits, as a partner is singled out for personal qualities over and above the value of the objects exchanged. The Orokaiva, unlike other New Guinean tribes (for example, Pospisil's [1964] Kapauku) favour diffuse relations for all transactions.

CONCLUSIONS

602 572 I have shown that Orokaiva have a *philia* system comprising distinctive kin and non-kin membership categories. The *philia* system was found to contain three basic types of relationships: the cooperative alliance, the reciprocating partnership and unions based on a total interdependence of parts.[9] The chart below shows these types represented by the same-generation consanguines and affines among kin and, corresponding fairly closely, among friends.

	Kinship	Friendship
cooperative alliance	*apa/eambo*	*apa/eambo* (*namei*), *jao*
reciprocating partnership	*apa/eambo* (nominal); *dambo*	*otavo*
total interdependence of parts	*simbo*; *ivu/ae*	*simbo*

The fact that these three relationships are found in both categories suggest that friendship can hardly be regarded as a type of relationship with specific role attributes. Characteristics such as detachment from home entanglement, common commitment, perilous causes, reckless mutual support, strong emotional attachment to one another which are all implied in Paine's sketch of modern friendship (this volume, pp. 117–37) and in the Orokaiva *simbo* relationship, do not exist in other Orokaiva friendships such as those between *namei*, *jao*, or *otavo*. The Orokaiva distinctions between the different types of friends have no parallel in Western culture, but they reflect a clear

9 I borrow from Burridge (1969) the term "parts" which is pleasantly ambiguous, suggesting both roles in the theatrical and sociological sense, and moieties or segments in social organization. Burridge does not explicitly set up a third category of relationships containing terms such as husband/wife and *simbo*, but rather describes an "ideal" of relationships when a full equivalence of prestations (*mngwotngwotiki*) is achieved. This state of equivalence must be reached by two families before they enter into a marital union. The notion of "total interdependence of parts" (see Schwimmer, 1970b; 1970c) is clearly of the same type.

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572 602 grasp of certain fundamental psychological principles. For instance, the Orokaiva classification scheme relates the *simbo* kind of friendship symbolically to the marriage bond which, indeed, has the same quality of total interdependence between persons whose consanguineal links are distant, if present at all. Some friendships are indeed of this kind but not all: the Orokaiva system reflects this fact in that some non-kin relationships are classified as *simbo* while others are classified as *apa/eambo*, *otavo*, and so on.

If we cannot distinguish friendship from kinship on the basis of the content (the role attributes) of relationships, it is possible to make a distinction of a formal kind.[10] One characteristic of all friendship relations is that the [601] partners are kept free of ritual avoidances such as those between affines. The wife of a sibling type of friend is given a sibling term of address; the wife of a *simbo* type of friend is herself classified as *simbo*. Another formal characteristic of all these relations is that they are equivalent, but additional to the kinship links of the same type.

[182] The continual threat of warfare and disruptive disputes impels persons to maintain a number of residence and alliance options in many places. Friendships develop especially where the kin universe is inadequate in supplying these options and leaves dangerous gaps in the network; Orokaiva friendship patches the gaps in this network. This seems a humble and subsidiary role indeed. Nonetheless, the existence of a regular mechanism to fill these gaps makes a crucial difference to the nature of the total system. The fact that there is an institutionalized freedom of recruitment of members to each of the *philia* categories opens up the system and gives it a dynamic flexibility. Ascriptive criteria need never fully determine membership groups because a dimension of freedom in recruitment is given by the friendship customs.

[177] [609] This fact offers a useful beginning for an analysis of the relations between Orokaiva and Europeans, as the Orokaiva system had from the beginning certain social concepts which enabled them to fit the Europeans into their scheme of social relations. The fact that they are strangers does not in itself leave them out of social recognition. Time does not permit this line of analysis, but it is worth remarking that in the absence of a friendship category, Orokaiva would not be able to adapt themselves as easily to the modern type of intercourse with other tribes and other races. The Orokaiva never had a truly closed society. They had rules for setting up relations with strangers, and these relations included marriages, as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a).

121 If we now turn from the Orokaiva case to more general questions regarding friendship, we may suggest that friendship is best regarded as a residual category within the *philia* universe, in that any *philia* universe must contain a regular process for the recruitment of strangers. Blau (1964) has described the psychological aspect of this process. The present essay has been

10 I am using "form" and "content" in the same sense as Levi-Strauss (1958).

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phasis on the "logic of the concrete," is equally insistent on precision in matters of material culture, because in the analysis of symbols it often happens that important distinctions are made between species, varieties, subvarieties, methods of food preparation, of the manufacture of objects, and the like.

Quite apart from this concern with meticulous classification, componential analysis, and lexical-semantic relations, it seems to me profitable to turn to the semiotics of material objects, especially if the field of connotation and denotation crosscuts numerous levels of conceptualization. There are some objects in every culture which may almost be regarded as "total phenomena" in the Maussian sense: they are at once of economic value, expressive of social relations, ploys in a political strategy, and religious symbols. They also appear as the subjects of myths. As a general rule, they are utilized as objects of exchange, which explains why they are as multivalent as exchange itself.

At least part of their significance in anthropology lies in their capability to link the levels of myth and ritual. The best way of explaining what I mean by this suggestion is to give some instances of semiotic analyses of objects which may be called "total phenomena," and include in these analyses the levels of both myth and ritual. Their role as "logical operators" linking these levels will then become obvious. Though my argument draws on a wide range of structuralist literature, the most important sources are Lévi-Strauss' introduction to Mauss' *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Lévi-Strauss 1950) and the Finale of *L'Homme Nu* (1971).

The ethnographic data are from the Orokaiva, a tribe in the northern district of Papua, where I did fieldwork for one year in 1966–1967 and for another three months in 1970.[1] The Orokaiva live on the fertile slopes of Mount Lamington. They are swidden agriculturists, whose main crop is taro, while yam, sweet potato, sago, sugar cane, coconut, and numerous other nuts, as well as latterly German taro are subsidiary crops. Areca grows in most of the district. The population of 25,000 is very dense on the actual slopes of the volcano, sparser in the riverine areas. The kinship system is patrilineal, with a strong bilateral emphasis. I have given a detailed description of the various forms of